

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Devoted to *Scientific Study of Rural Life*

Independent Farmer.....	John B. Dwyer
Commercial Farming in the West.....	R. H. Campbell
Intensive Agriculture and Western Land.....	Harold A. Smith
The Functional Theory of Social Class.....	C. Arnold Anderson
Immigration and Social Change in the Indonesia.....	Justus M. Smith
Community Groups.....	Alvin S. Johnson

Book Reviews

Bulletin Reviews

News Notes and Announcements

OFFICE OF PUBLICATIONS

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Published at
THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
LEXINGTON

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Published Quarterly

BOARD OF EDITORS

- HAROLD HOFFMAN**, Editor.....University of Maryland
P.O. Box 38, College Park, Maryland
CLAY F. LADD, Associate Editor.....Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
A. R. MORGAN, Associate Editor.....Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio
CONRAD TAYLOR, Associate Editor.....U.S. Bureau of the Census
Washington, D. C.
ROBERT L. MCNAMARA, Associate Editor.....University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri
HOMER L. HITT, Associate Editor.....Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
A. LEE COLEMAN, Managing Editor.....University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

DEPARTMENTAL EDITORS

- Research Notes:** HAROLD F. KAUFMAN.....Mississippi State College
Mississippi
Applied Sociology Notes: PAUL A. MILLER.....Michigan State College
Lansing, Michigan
Book Reviews: ELMER A. WILKINS.....University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin
Bulletin Reviews: LOUIS J. DODGE.....Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA
Washington, D. C.
News Notes and Announcements: SAMUEL W. BLIZZARD.....Union Theological Seminary
New York 22, New York

Rural Sociology is published by the Rural Sociological Society. The office of publication is located in the Department of Rural Sociology, College of Agriculture and Home Economics, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. Months of publication are March, June, September, and December.

Membership in the Rural Sociological Society entitles the member to receive *Rural Sociology*. Dues for active members are \$4.75 per year, of which \$3.50 is for a year's subscription. Dues for student members are \$1.75 per year, \$2.50 of which is for the subscription. Applications for membership and payment of dues should be made to the Secretary-Treasurer, Samuel W. Blizzard, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway at 126th Street, New York 27, New York.

The subscription rate for nonmembers, libraries, and others is \$4.75 per year, \$1.25 per copy, in the United States, Canada, and possessions within the Pan-American Postal Union; \$6.50 per year and \$1.60 per copy in all other countries, postage paid. Subscriptions should be sent to Lee Coleman, Managing Editor, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

Manuscripts, communications for the editor, and all correspondence should be addressed to the Managing Editor, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. Books for review, bulletins for review, book notes, applied sociology notes, and news notes and announcements should be sent directly to the appropriate departmental editor, as indicated above.

Rural Sociology is indexed in Agricultural Index, Bibliography of Agriculture, and the Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service. Selected abstracts are carried regularly in Sociological Abstracts, Psychological Abstracts, Current Sociology and other publications. *Rural Sociology* is available on microfilm, to regular subscribers, from University Microfilms, 315 N. First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Entered at second-class matter at the post office at Lexington, Kentucky, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at Post Office at Lexington, Kentucky.

Printed by the Robert Printing Company, Madison, Kentucky.

Copyright, 1964, by the Rural Sociological Society.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME 19

JUNE, 1954

NUMBER 2

CONTENTS

	Page
The Nonresident Farmer in the New Rural Society.....	
.....John C. Belcher	121
Commercial Farming in the United States.....	
.....R. L. Skrabanek	136
Mechanized Agriculture and the Farm Laborer.....	
.....Harald A. Pedersen	143
The Need for a Functional Theory of Social Class.....	
.....C. Arnold Anderson	152
Disorganization and Social Change in Rural Indonesia.....	
.....Justus M. van der Kroef	161
Rural Locality Groups: Changing Patterns, Change Factors, and Implications.....	
.....Alvin L. Bertrand	174
Research Notes.....	
.....Edited by Harold F. Kaufman	180
Farmers' Practice-Adoption Rates in Relation to Adoption Rates of "Leaders".....	
.....C. Paul Marsh and A. Lee Coleman	180
Procedure and Problems of Delineating Locality Groups in Latin America.....	
.....Norman W. Painter	181
Group Participation and Personality Adjustment.....	
.....John R. Christiansen and Thel R. Black	183
Use of Judges' Ratings in the Determination of "General Standing" and Community Participation.....	
.....Louis A. Ploch	185
Neighborhoods in Illinois.....	
.....D. E. Lindstrom	188
Book Reviews.....	
.....Edited by Eugene A. Wilkening	192
Loomis (Chairman) and Beegle (Editor): <i>Rural Social Systems and Adult Education</i>	
.....Ernest H. Shideler	192
Allen: <i>Rural Reconstruction in Action: Experience in the Near and Middle East</i>	
.....Irwin T. Sanders	193
Allbaugh: <i>Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area</i>	
.....Glen L. Taggart	193
Mead and Métraux (Editors): <i>The Study of Culture at a Distance</i>	
.....Murray A. Straus	194
Wagley: <i>Amazon Town: A Study of Man in the Tropics</i>	
.....Olen E. Leonard	195
Brown: <i>The United States and India and Pakistan</i>	
.....Irene B. Taeuber	196
Report and Working Papers, FAO Regional Meeting, Bangalore, India: <i>Agriculture in Asia and the Far East</i>	
.....W. A. Anderson	197
Miller: <i>Community Health Action</i>	
.....Floyd Hunter	197
Macgregor, Abel, Bryt, Lauer, and Weissmann: <i>Facial Deformities and Plastic Surgery: A Psychosocial Study</i>	
.....C. E. Lively	198
Christie and Jahoda (Editors): <i>Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality"</i>	
.....A. R. Mangus	198

	Page
Hansen, Hurwitz, and Madow: <i>Sample Survey Methods and Theory: Vol. I: Methods and Applications; Vol. II: Theory</i>C. Horace Hamilton	200
Moreno: <i>Who Shall Survive? Foundations of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy and Sociodrama</i>Solon T. Kimball	201
Gee: <i>The Social Economics of Agriculture</i>Edward H. Koenig	202
Schickele: <i>Agricultural Policy</i>Raymond J. Penn and G. Albert Kristjanson	203
Kyrk: <i>The Family in the American Economy</i>T. Wilson Longmore	204
Kaplan: <i>A Social Program for Older People</i>Walter C. McKain, Jr.	205
Rogoff: <i>Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility</i>Charles E. Ramsey	205
Martin: <i>The Rural-Urban Fringe: A Study of Adjustment to Residence Location</i>Myles W. Rodehaver	206
Gilmore: <i>Transportation and the Growth of Cities</i>Vincent Heath Whitney	207
Gouldner: <i>Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy</i>Robert C. Stone	208
Durkheim: <i>Sociology and Philosophy</i>Earl D. C. Brewer	208
Friedmann (Editor): <i>Villes et Campagnes: Civilisation urbaine et Civilisation rurale en France</i>E. K. Francis	209
Tamagi: <i>Nippon Kazoku Seido Ron (A Theory of the Japanese Family System)</i>Chien-Hsun Huang	210
Laid: <i>Såden torkar. Sadesuppsättningar i Sverige, 1850-1900. En etnologisk undersökning</i>Peter A. Munch	210
Smith: <i>Rural Church Administration</i>Marvin T. Judy	211
Poston: <i>Democracy Is You</i>J. P. Schmidt	212
Book Notes	212
Selected Rural Fiction in 1953.....by Caroline B. Sherman	214
Books Received.....by the Book Review Editor	215
Bulletin Reviews.....Edited by Louis J. Ducoff	217
Folkman: <i>Implications for American Cooperatives from Danish Membership Experience</i>George M. Beal	217
Johnson: <i>Achieving Farm Ownership in South Dakota through the Farm Ownership Program of the Farmers Home Administration</i>Baldur H. Kristjanson	218
Smith: <i>Transferring the Farm to the Next Generation</i>Daniel E. Alleger	219
Raper: <i>Rural Taiwan—Problem and Promise</i>Riley H. Kirby	220
Grady, Smith, and Kuschke: <i>Rhode Island Rural Housing and Family Leisure</i>Francena L. Nolan	220
Hunter and Bottum: <i>Family Living Expenditures and Income for Farm and City Families in Miami County, Indiana</i>Robert M. Carter	221
Landis: <i>The Broken Home in Teenage Adjustments</i>Reuben Hill	221
Sewell, Ramsey, and Ducoff: <i>Farmers' Conceptions and Plans for Economic Security in Old Age</i>	222
McKain, Baldwin, and Ducoff: <i>Old Age and Retirement in Rural Connecticut: 2. Economic Security of Farm Operators and Farm Laborers</i>Lowry Nelson	222
Motheral and Bowles: <i>Employment Redistribution of Korean Veterans</i>Harold Wool	223
Other Publications Received.....by the Bulletin Review Editor	224
News Notes and Announcements.....Edited by Samuel W. Blizzard	225

THE NONRESIDENT FARMER IN THE NEW RURAL SOCIETY

by John C. Belcher†

ABSTRACT

Technological changes in communication and transportation make it possible for many farmers to reside away from their farms with few, if any, sacrifices in farm management. Consequently, those interested in farming as a business rather than as a way of life may choose to live in areas of population concentration, because of the social, educational, and economic advantages to be found there. The hypothesis is advanced "that as American agriculture becomes more industrialized, the nonresident farmer will increasingly control these industrialized operations."

Using data from the United States Census, the study reveals: (1) an apparent tendency for commercial farmers to live more and more in non-farm areas (and this trend is countered by the increase in part-time and "residential" farmers living on farms); (2) the major areas of nonresident farming in the United States are Southern California, Utah, the Wheat Belt, the Rio Grande Valley, and the Florida Peninsula; (3) off-the-farm residence by the operator reaches a maximum on farms with large acreages, grossing over \$25,000 a year, specializing in cash crops requiring only seasonal attention, and operated by a manager, part-owner, or cash or crop-share tenant.

INTRODUCTION

An extremely significant phenomenon in American agriculture has been the development of "suitcase," "side-walk," and other types of nonresident farming. Although traditionally the farmer in this country has located his dwelling on his farm, technological developments have made it possible for him to live a considerable distance from his land. With the commercialization of American agriculture and the resultant disappearance of the pioneer, self-sufficient, family-oriented type of farming, it seems quite probable that an increasing number of farmers will choose to reside in towns or cities away from their farms.

Some rural sociologists have stressed that the sole advantage of on-the-farm residence has been one of farm management.¹ If this advantage no longer exists, farm families may choose to change their residence to areas of pop-

ulation concentration where social, educational, and economic advantages are to be found.

Thirty years ago Veblen asserted that the American farmer had no feeling for his soil or farm, but rather aimed to acquire farm land while following his trade as husbandman. This property would enable him some day to take his place among the absentee owners living off the returns from the land.² With industrialized agriculture, the farm owner or manager can live in town and still get his livelihood from the soil.

The hypothesis may be advanced that as American agriculture becomes more industrialized the nonresident farmer will increasingly control these industrialized operations.

Taylor and Vasey consider industrialized agriculture a system of open-air food factories, characterized by: (1) intensive agriculture; (2) highly capitalized operations; (3) large-scale farming methods; (4) concentrated

†Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Okla.

¹T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (revised ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), p. 220.

²Thorstein Veblen, *Absentee Ownership* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, Inc., 1923), p. 135.

ownership; and (5) huge total payments to farm laborers.³

The present study is exploratory. It employs available census data and relevant studies to determine the extent, trends, and characteristics of nonresident farming in the United States.

EXTENT OF NONRESIDENT FARMING, AND TRENDS

The United States Census Bureau reports the only national statistics on nonresident farming. No census data of this kind are available for years previous to 1940. The agricultural census shows the number of farm operators not residing on the farm operated. Some of these people live on farms operated by others, or elsewhere in the open country. The vast majority, however, live in towns or cities.

Table 1, taken from the 1950 Census of Agriculture, indicates that approximately one farmer in twenty may be classed as nonresident. The number of these farm operators in the United States not residing on the farm operated declined from 313,598 in 1940 to 267,176 in 1950, with a high of 336,893 in 1945. These numbers represent the following percentages of all farms: 5.4 per cent in 1940; 5.8 per cent in 1945; and 5.1 per cent in 1950.

If we assume that the differences in numbers are not due merely to changes in census classification, it would seem that wartime phenomena must be responsible for the large number of nonresident farmers in 1945. The number of these absentee farmers showed the greatest increases, 1940-45, in the urbanized sections of the nation where defense production was concentrated. There were declines in many states having few manufacturing establishments.

Except for the tier of states from

North Dakota southward to Texas, there was a general decline between 1945 and 1950 in the number and proportion of farm operators not living on the farm. Furthermore, these declines were greatest in the same industrialized areas which had had large increases in the first half of the decade. The states where the number of absentee farmers increased are rather sparsely settled and have few large cities or manufacturing establishments but are characterized by highly mechanized, commercialized agriculture. Over 90 per cent of the farms in the general region are classified as commercial, as compared with a national average of 68.9 per cent.

The number of part-time and residential farms in the United States is rapidly increasing in many sections of the country. The number of farm operators working off the farm more than 100 days a year has steadily increased, from 723,000 in 1929 to 1,251,000 in 1949; these figures represent 11.5 per cent of all farm operators in 1929 and 24.3 per cent in 1949. Because of the growing importance of part-time and residential farming, it is difficult to determine the trends in the place of residence of farm operators, using data from the Census of Agriculture. If these groups could be separated from all farm operators, one could probably see an increase in the rate of absentee farming among the operations classed as "commercial."

The Census of Population comes nearer than the Census of Agriculture to separating out the commercial farmers from those having their principal incomes or interests in other fields. Table 2, showing the place of residence of farmers and farm managers in 1940 and 1950, is based on the Population Census figures. Although the vast majority of persons working as farmers and farm managers live on farms, the number in urban and rural-nonfarm areas is growing. Between 1940 and

³ Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey, "Contemporary Background of California Farm Labor," *Rural Sociology*, 1:4 (Dec., 1936), p. 419.

TABLE 1. FARM OPERATORS NOT RESIDING ON FARM OPERATED,
BY REGIONS AND STATES, 1950, 1945, AND 1940

Region and state	1950		1945		1940	
	Number ¹	Per cent of all farms	Number ¹	Per cent of all farms	Number ¹	Per cent of all farms
United States.....	268,176	5.1	336,893	5.8	313,598	5.4
New England:	4,399	4.4	10,673	7.2	6,924	5.4
Maine	1,426	4.8	2,860	6.9	2,211	6.0
New Hampshire	439	3.3	1,319	7.1	586	3.7
Vermont	838	4.5	3,562	13.7	1,455	6.4
Massachusetts	1,014	4.7	2,001	5.5	1,767	5.9
Rhode Island	114	4.6	124	3.4	127	4.5
Connecticut	568	3.7	807	3.6	778	3.8
Middle Atlantic:	11,942	4.1	18,257	5.3	15,444	4.6
New York	5,660	4.6	8,954	6.0	8,089	5.5
New Jersey	999	4.1	997	3.8	1,113	4.6
Pennsylvania	5,283	3.7	8,306	4.9	6,242	3.8
East North Central:	35,739	4.1	49,013	5.2	39,159	4.1
Ohio	8,358	4.3	11,959	5.5	9,656	4.4
Indiana	6,916	4.3	8,712	5.0	7,291	4.1
Illinois	9,407	4.9	11,475	5.6	8,500	4.2
Michigan	6,007	4.0	10,071	5.8	8,409	4.7
Wisconsin	5,051	3.0	6,796	3.9	5,303	2.9
West North Central:	54,401	5.7	54,584	5.3	59,137	5.7
Minnesota	6,925	3.9	7,601	4.1	7,154	3.8
Iowa	7,096	3.6	7,094	3.4	6,500	3.2
Missouri	10,543	4.7	14,186	5.9	10,211	4.2
North Dakota	7,438	11.6	6,465	9.4	8,322	11.6
South Dakota	4,818	7.4	3,933	5.8	4,970	7.2
Nebraska	6,749	6.4	5,767	5.2	7,854	6.7
Kansas	10,832	8.4	9,538	6.8	14,126	9.5
South Atlantic:	39,764	4.3	64,084	6.2	50,508	5.2
Delaware	337	4.8	456	4.9	342	4.1
Maryland	1,629	4.6	2,601	6.3	1,926	4.8
Dist. of Columbia	4	14.8	8	22.9	9	10.4
Virginia	5,584	3.8	9,935	5.8	7,335	4.4
West Virginia	3,319	4.2	5,824	6.0	3,736	3.9
North Carolina	9,431	3.4	16,164	5.7	12,906	5.0
South Carolina	5,603	4.1	9,424	6.5	6,650	5.1
Georgia	7,706	4.0	10,382	4.7	8,392	4.1
Florida	6,151	11.1	9,290	15.4	9,212	15.9
East South Central:	30,296	3.4	43,629	4.6	43,150	4.5
Kentucky	8,474	4.0	16,325	6.9	12,469	5.1
Tennessee	8,227	3.7	11,490	4.9	12,402	5.2
Alabama	6,231	3.0	7,797	3.6	8,623	3.9
Mississippi	7,364	3.0	8,017	3.1	9,656	3.6
West South Central:	51,267	6.7	51,729	6.0	56,190	6.1
Arkansas	6,616	3.7	8,803	4.5	9,248	4.5
Louisiana	3,868	3.2	4,630	3.6	6,089	4.2
Oklahoma	9,910	7.2	8,240	5.1	9,452	5.5
Texas	30,873	9.6	30,056	7.9	31,401	7.8

¹ Of those reporting residence, number not residing on farm operated.

[Table continued on next page]

TABLE 1. FARM OPERATORS NOT RESIDING ON FARM OPERATED,
BY REGIONS AND STATES, 1950, 1945, AND 1940—Continued

Region and state	1950		1945		1940	
	Number ¹	Per cent of all farms	Number ¹	Per cent of all farms	Number ¹	Per cent of all farms
Mountain:	19,016	10.0	20,085	9.5	24,319	10.9
Montana	3,515	10.2	3,397	9.1	4,237	10.4
Idaho	2,774	7.0	2,844	6.9	2,949	7.1
Wyoming	931	7.5	831	6.4	1,023	7.1
Colorado	3,754	8.4	3,375	7.2	3,664	7.5
New Mexico	2,158	9.4	2,200	7.5	4,363	13.4
Arizona	1,243	12.1	1,451	11.3	1,704	9.5
Utah	4,345	19.4	5,599	21.4	5,914	24.2
Nevada	296	9.7	388	11.4	465	13.7
Pacific:	21,352	8.1	24,839	8.9	18,767	7.1
Washington	2,811	4.1	3,150	4.0	3,025	3.6
Oregon	3,071	5.2	3,292	5.2	3,028	5.1
California	15,470	11.4	18,397	13.4	12,714	10.1

¹ Of those reporting residence, number not residing on farm operated.
Source: 1950 Census of Agriculture: Vol. II, General Report, pp. 140-141.

1950 the increase was from 204,000 to 360,000, or from 4 per cent to 8.4 per cent of all farm operators and managers. During these years the number of people classed occupationally as farmers or farm managers increased 64.9 per cent in urban areas and 82.9 per cent in the rural-nonfarm population, but declined 20.1 per cent in the rural-farm population. The same trends are found in all the census regions of the United States except for the urban area of the New England States. This one exception, however, apparently reflects the changes in the census definition of urban, and not a different phenomenon than exists elsewhere.

Other tabulations by occupation show a greater concentration of paid farm laborers and unpaid family workers in nonfarm residences in 1950 than in 1940. The number of farm laborers increased 35.3 per cent in cities and 36.9 per cent in the rural-nonfarm population, but declined by 43.1 per cent in the rural-farm population. Similar changes in residential distribution during this ten-year period were apparent for the unpaid family

workers, whose numbers increased 35.8 per cent in the urban sections and 227.9 per cent in the rural-nonfarm population but decreased 25.4 per cent in the farm category. These general trends for farm laborers and unpaid family workers were the same in all sections of the nation.

Although the census data are inconclusive, there seems to be a tendency for the commercial farmer to live more and more in nonfarm areas. There is also evidence that the Agricultural Census underenumerates the number of nonresident farmers. For example, in Haskell County, Kansas, the Census listed only 423 farms and 137 nonresident operators in 1940. Earl Bell found 550 farms the same year, including 223 with nonresident operators.⁴ It would appear that the census workers often fail to count the farms operated by nonresidents.

Partly balancing this growing tendency for commercial farmers to reside off the farm is the increase in part-

⁴ Earl H. Bell, *Culture of a Contemporary Community: Sublette, Kansas*, Rural Life Studies No. 2 (Washington, D. C.: USDA, Sept., 1942), pp. 11-12.

TABLE 2. CHANGES IN RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF FARMERS AND FARM MANAGERS,*
BY REGION, 1940 TO 1950

Region	Place of residence					
	Urban			Rural-Nonfarm		
	Number		Per cent change	Number		Per cent change
	1950	1940		1950	1940	
United States	122,168	74,113	+64.9	238,230	130,284	+82.9
New England	6,763	9,614	-29.7	6,745	3,049	+121.2
Middle Atlantic	11,367	6,710	+69.4	17,359	10,028	+73.1
East North Central	15,233	9,527	+59.9	34,305	17,393	+97.2
West North Central	15,103	8,151	+85.3	41,333	17,863	+131.4
South Atlantic	12,576	7,177	+75.2	40,605	22,606	+79.6
East South Central	8,275	4,734	+74.8	30,260	16,950	+78.5
West South Central	19,205	10,719	+79.2	32,587	22,326	+46.0
Mountain	10,183	5,663	+79.8	18,678	12,225	+52.8
Pacific	23,483	11,818	+96.7	16,358	7,844	+108.5

*Not including unemployed farmers and farm managers.

time and "residential" farmers living on farms. For example, in 1940, 78.1 per cent of all employed workers living in rural-farm residences were engaged in agricultural occupations. The comparable figure for 1950 was but 70.4 per cent. Furthermore, the percentage of farm operators working off the farm 100 days or more per year has steadily increased during recent years.

THE PRINCIPAL AREAS OF NONRESIDENT FARMING IN THE UNITED STATES

From the map (Fig. 1) it is apparent that there is a great deal of geographical variation in the relative importance of nonresident farming. This map also suggests that there may be some relationship between low population density and farm operators living off the farm.

The black shading on the map represents counties in which 30 per cent or more of the farm operators do not live on their farms. There are four principal areas in the United States where a number of counties are in this category. These areas are (1) the citrus counties of South Florida, (2) the cotton and livestock counties along the Rio Grande in Texas, (3) the winter wheat area centering around the Panhandle of Oklahoma, and (4) the "livestock, part-time, and residential" counties of southern Utah. Southern California is also an area where nonresident farming is important, although the percentages of nonresident farmers are under 30. Table 3 indicates the relative importance of nonresident farming in all counties that have at least 150 nonresident farmers comprising at least 20 per cent of all farms in the county. It may be noted that off-the-farm residence is largely restricted to a few types of farming.

To help make clear the role of nonresident farming, each of the areas of concentration will be briefly analyzed:

Southern California.—Southern California has been publicized as the seat

of industrialized farming in the United States. Writers have predicted that the type of agriculture we find here will come for the rest of the nation. Goldschmidt, for example, contends that California is the vanguard of what is the major trend in American agriculture—industrialization. He feels that the mechanization of agriculture will continue and finds it difficult to visualize such mechanization without growing industrialization and the urbanizing influences that follow.⁵

Goldschmidt further points out that the social elites in the towns in the industrialized farming communities he studied are largely the big-scale farm operators.⁶ Not only do the large operators and their management personnel live off the farm, but they find most of their social activities concentrated in nearby large cities. Although the percentage of big operators in California agriculture is small, their role in production is great. Slightly over four per cent of the farmers in California sold 48.7 per cent of all farm products sold in 1949; the average gross for this four per cent was \$150,000 per farm. Although it is not known what percentage of these farms were operated by off-farm dwellers, agricultural census data show that a high percentage of the larger operators are nonresident.

Utah.—A greater proportion of the farmers in Utah live off the farm (19.4 per cent in 1950) than in any other state. In contrast with the rest of the nation, off-farm residence in Utah is not so much associated with commercialized farming as with the original settlement pattern. The original settlement of Utah was by Mormons who settled in villages.⁷ In subsequent settlements throughout the intermountain area, the Mormons retained the village

⁵ Walter Goldschmidt, *As You Sow* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1947), p. 242.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-212.

⁷ Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology* (New York: American Book Co., 1948), p. 56.

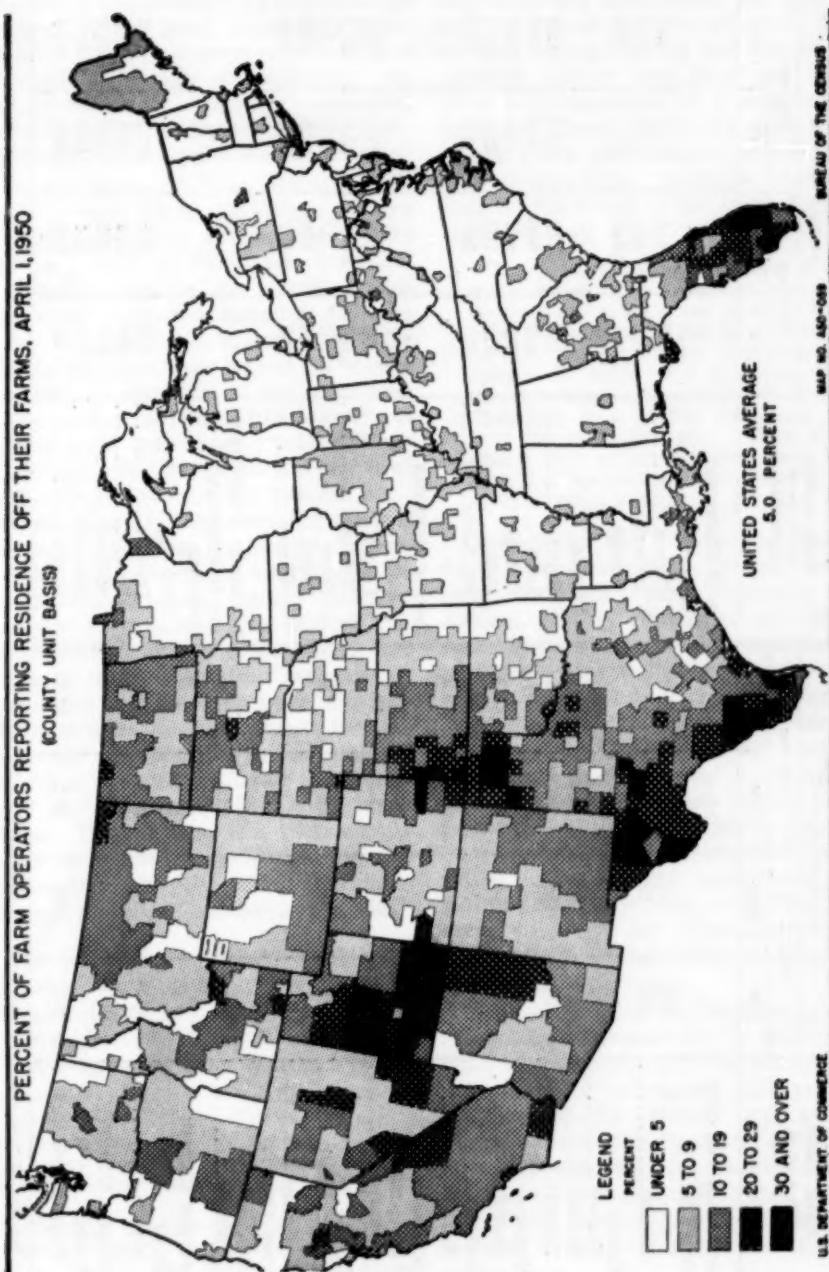


FIGURE 1.

TABLE 3. FARM OPERATORS REPORTING RESIDENCE OFF THE FARM OPERATED, FOR SPECIFIED COUNTIES, 1930 AND 1945

State, county, and type of agriculture	Operators not residing on farm operated				State, county, and type of agriculture	Operators not residing on farm operated			
	Number		Per cent ¹			Number		Per cent ¹	
	1930	1945	1930	1945		1930	1945	1930	1945
CASH-GRAIN COUNTIES					CITRUS COUNTIES				
Colorado					California				
Baca	248	146	25.3	17.8	Colusa	176	213	21.8	24.0
Kiowa	166	22	34.4	5.8	Imperial	529	911	25.4	31.1
Kansas					Orange	1,461	1,840	26.1	29.3
Finney	199	257	27.4	29.1	Florida				
Meade	155	113	24.6	18.1	Brevard	186	377	27.2	42.0
Thomas	191	106	26.2	15.5	Lake	422	506	25.8	30.7
Montana					Orange	333	426	19.5	22.5
Sheridan	234	175	24.2	16.0	Polk	719	1,102	23.5	30.0
North Dakota					St. Lucie	157	357	31.3	65.4
Burke	211	181	21.9	16.9	COTTON COUNTIES				
Oklahoma					Texas				
Cimarron	177	71	29.6	12.8	Duval	178	107	27.2	12.7
Texas	316	194	25.3	16.1	Hidalgo	1,176	2,060	23.6	37.2
Texas					Starr	272	83	27.8	7.1
Deaf Smith	189	63	26.7	7.6	Webb	168	146	53.0	52.0
CASH-GRAIN AND COTTON COUNTY					Willacy	196	167	21.8	15.9
Oklahoma					LIVESTOCK, PART-TIME AND RESIDENTIAL COUNTIES				
Tillman	382	330	22.5	15.9	Utah				
LIVESTOCK COUNTY					Iron	212	308	43.2	59.6
Texas					Juab	196	259	65.1	63.8
Mason	154	98	20.9	13.9	Millard	599	372	54.8	36.8
VEGETABLE COUNTY					Sampeete	646	724	43.9	45.7
Florida					Sevier	227	413	25.3	47.6
Palm Beach	267	397	32.1	35.2					

¹ Per cent of farm operators who reported residence.

Source: 1930 Census of Agriculture; Vol. II, General Report, p. 71.

pattern of settlement.⁸ In this area the original small land allotments were suitable for an economy which at first was almost totally self-sufficing. As the commercial economy emerged, farmers began to try to enlarge their holdings to make more economic units.⁹

In his study of "The Mormon Village," Nelson found the village pattern of settlement was continuing in the southern part of Utah; but in well-watered valleys to the north, which had more intensive farming, farmers were increasingly living on farms. He also noted many new homes being constructed on small fruit and vegetable farms along the main highways.¹⁰ It would seem that these smaller farms along major highways are the homes of part-time and residential farmers. Zimmerman and Du Wors predict a trend toward nonresident, commercial farming for the entire arid west region as large-scale, dry-land, grain farmers first use "farm-cities" for service stations and marketing points and then begin to migrate to the "farm-cities" for winter residence, to have the advantages of town protection in winters and easy accessibility to educational and other institutions. Later the "farm-city" home becomes the chief residence. The farms are increasingly taken care of by seasonal outward migration from the city, which is possible through the use of mechanical power.¹¹

The Wheat Belt.—Wheat farming is probably more conducive to absentee operations than any other type of agriculture. In the Winter Wheat Belt is found a one-cash-crop system requir-

ing relatively little labor, and that for only two short periods each year. With modern transportation and power machinery, one or two men can easily farm large acreages at a considerable distance. These conditions have given rise to a new phenomenon in American agriculture—the "suitcase farmer." Bell, in his study of Sublette, Kansas, reported that:

The typical suitcase farmer is generally conceded to be a man who farms so far away from home that he has to carry his suitcase to his farm work, but he has some brothers who live close enough to carry only a dinner pail—they are frequently called town farmers. They live in a nearby town and farm land out in the country. Then, a first cousin to a suitcase farmer lives on a farm, but operates another piece of land some distance away.¹²

During the last few years another form of suitcase farming has developed. Farmers from Oklahoma and Kansas, taking advantage of differences in the season, raise wheat in two or three states with one set of equipment. For example, a wheat farmer from western Oklahoma will harvest his wheat in the late spring, load his equipment on trucks, and go to eastern Colorado to harvest his second crop. Perhaps he will then go to the Dakotas to make his third harvest. Soil preparation and seeding operations are handled much the same way. Thus, one man, with one set of equipment, is able to farm a large acreage in each of several states.

Zimmerman and Du Wors envision a "Petite City Community" in the Wheat Belt, where practically the whole population of a subregion will congregate, especially during the winter. They believe the modern American does not want to be isolated from an adequate community. Nor does he desire great aggregations; he is helping to form a centrally organized commu-

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁰ Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), p. 276.

¹¹ Carle C. Zimmerman and Richard E. DuWors, *Graphic Regional Sociology* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Phillips Book Store, 1952), pp. 176-177.

¹² Earl H. Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

nity, rather than restoring the isolated farm residence.¹³

Rio Grande Valley.—Nonresident farming is common among the large-scale farm operators in the cotton- and livestock-producing counties on and near the Rio Grande River in Texas. Some conception of the role of nonresident farming in the Valley can be had from a study of Val Verde County, Texas, by Draper and Russell.¹⁴ The farms in this county are primarily of the ranch-livestock type. Although the rate of nonresident farming is lower than in most other counties in the Valley, the characteristics of nonresident farming there are probably fairly representative of the region. Draper and Russell point out that, "Although the ranchmen are a numerically small part of the total population, they own by far the greater part of the property in the county."¹⁵ A few excerpts from the monograph provide the essential information for present purposes:

A large proportion of the ranch families who are legally residents of the smaller areas spend a large part of their time in Del Rio and are more truly a part of that center than of their "home" service area. Most ranch families (particularly the mother and children) in the county with school-age children live in Del Rio for the school term, spending only weekends, holidays and summers at the ranch. In actuality, Del Rio is the "community" center for the ranch families and is increasingly becoming such a center for all rural families.¹⁶

When the youngest child has reached college age, or for some other reason moves away from home, the family is likely to move back to the ranch. On the other hand, it is possible that the rancher may be so occupied by this time with town affairs that he chooses to stay

in town and become a "main street rancher."¹⁷

Two forces are apparently competing for the farm land of Val Verde. . . . One is the effort of interests outside the county to combine as much of the irrigable land as such into a cattle ranch, and already cattle are running on a sizeable section of land which can be irrigated. The other force is the steady demand for small acreage plots by wage earners in Del Rio, who would build homes and keep home gardens with perhaps a cow and some chickens for each.¹⁸

Florida Peninsula.—The only place east of the Mississippi River where there is any concentration of farm operators living off the farm operated is in the Florida Peninsula. Apparently no community studies from which detailed information may be drawn have been made in the citrus- or vegetable-growing sections of Florida. Census data, however, indicate that the rate of absentee farming is great in this belt of highly industrialized agriculture, which probably has many characteristics in common with Southern California.¹⁹

Observations.—(1) Nonresident farming appears to be most prevalent in the sections of the nation where agriculture is highly commercialized. The absentee operators have much more influence over agricultural production than their mere numbers would indicate. (2) Changes in rural-urban social organization which tend to make farm people feel that they are a part of larger population centers may result in the movement of homes to these centers if agricultural conditions, especially type of farming and mechanization, permit. (3) Sparse settlement seems conducive to nonresident farming. (4) Large-scale farming opera-

¹³ Zimmerman and Du Wors, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

¹⁴ C. R. Draper and Daniel Russell, *Rural Organization in Val Verde County, Texas*, Texas AES Misc. Pub. 71, College Station, Tex. (Mar., 1951).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁹ United States Department of Labor, *Labor Unionism in American Agriculture* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945), p. 327.

tions requiring hired labor and/or mechanization often free the farm operator and his family to establish nonfarm residence in a town near social and business contacts and schools.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FARMS OPERATED BY NONRESIDENTS

The 1950 Agricultural Census provides data, by economic areas, for farms with nonresident and resident operators, according to: (1) size of farm, (2) tenure of operator, (3) type of farm, and (4) economic class of farm. Tabulations of the percentage of farm operators not residing on the farm operated have been included with the economic-area statistics and are given by census divisions.

Size of Farm.—Table 4 shows a positive relationship between nonresident farming and size of farm. For the nation as a whole, the proportion of absentee farmers increases from about 4 per cent for all size classifications under 140 acres to 15.3 per cent for the farms with 1,000 acres or over. In every census division there is an increase in nonresident farming as the size of farm increases. For the farms of under 10 acres, not more than 5.3 per cent of the farm operators live off the farm in any census division. On the other hand, for the farms above 1,000 acres, the range in nonresident farming is between 12 per cent and 26 per cent.

Tenure of Farm Operator.—There is considerable geographical variation in the relationship of nonresident farming and tenure. In all sections of the nation, absentee farming is greatest among managers, part owners, and cash tenants. The extent of off-the-farm residence is lowest among full owners, share-cash tenants, livestock-share tenants, and croppers. The rates are also high among crop-share tenants, except in the Cotton South (Table

5). Nonresident farming is considerably more prevalent among part owners than full owners. Also, relatively few of the noncommercial farm operators, who were not classified as to tenure, are nonresident farm operators.

In general, there seems to be a tendency for the tenure groups that usually have smaller operations to live on the farm, whereas the large-scale, commercial type of operator tends to live off the farm.

Type of Farm.—Some types of agriculture are more conducive to off-farm management than others. Table 6 shows residence of farmers by the type of farming engaged in (by commercial farmers). As one would expect, the animal-products types of agriculture, demanding the almost constant attention of the operator, have low proportions of farmers living off the farm.

At the other extreme, operators of cash grain, vegetable, fruit and nut, "general—primarily crop," and "other cash crop" farms tend more often to reside away from the scene of the farming operations. Nonresident cotton farming is much more prevalent in the western parts of the country (where cotton production is conducted on a large-scale, mechanized basis) than in the eastern part of the South. This phenomenon suggests that as—or if—cotton production in the Southeast becomes more mechanized and hired labor more widely used, nonresident farming may increase rapidly. The variation in nonresident operations for the "other field crop" type of farm is probably associated with differences in what the major crop is, and with agricultural mechanization.

Throughout the United States, nonresident farming tends to be positively correlated with the extent to which there are specialized forms of agriculture that are mechanized, especially when the production does not require daily attention. It would follow, then,

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE OF FARM OPERATORS NOT RESIDING ON FARM OPERATED, BY SIZE OF FARM AND REGION, 1950

Region	Size of farm (acres)									
	Under 10	10-29	30-49	50-99	70-99	100-129	140-179	180-219	220-259	260-499
United States.....	4.0	3.9	3.6	3.6	4.1	4.0	4.8	4.4	4.6	6.5
New England.....	3.5	4.3	2.8	3.9	4.7	3.5	4.4	4.2	4.3	4.3
Middle Atlantic.....	3.9	3.4	3.6	3.2	3.6	3.5	3.1	4.1	3.9	5.0
East North Central.....	3.1	3.6	4.3	4.0	3.8	3.6	3.3	3.7	3.3	4.1
West North Central.....	3.3	4.4	4.9	5.6	5.6	4.5	5.3	3.9	4.1	5.5
South Atlantic.....	4.5	3.7	3.1	2.9	3.5	3.6	4.1	4.2	5.2	7.8
East South Central.....	4.2	3.2	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.9	3.2	3.6	4.0	6.1
West South Central.....	3.2	3.6	3.8	4.5	4.9	5.3	6.8	6.6	7.1	9.2
Mountain.....	4.3	8.1	8.3	9.3	6.9	8.3	8.9	8.7	8.6	10.9
Pacific.....	5.3	7.0	6.1	5.3	6.5	6.8	8.9	8.2	7.2	10.5

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF FARM OPERATORS NOT RESIDING ON FARM OPERATED, BY TENURE AND REGION, 1950

Region	Full owners	Part owners	Managers	Tenants					Not classified
				All	Cash	Share-cash	Crop-share	Live-stock-share	
United States.....	4.1	5.7	17.5	5.1	6.9	3.2	8.0	2.4	6.5
New England.....	3.5	5.1	16.6	12.3	16.0	10.5	24.6	4.4	8.8
Middle Atlantic.....	3.0	4.3	11.1	7.0	9.7	7.2	5.5	3.6	6.8
East North Central.....	2.8	4.0	13.5	4.9	4.8	2.5	12.9	2.4	6.0
West North Central.....	4.2	5.0	12.0	6.4	3.3	2.8	19.2	1.9	8.1
South Atlantic.....	4.2	5.0	19.5	3.2	7.0	5.4	3.3	3.0	2.3
East South Central.....	2.7	4.2	13.6	3.0	4.5	3.3	3.2	1.5	2.7
West South Central.....	6.3	8.3	14.8	6.3	11.0	5.0	6.7	7.2	3.3
Mountain.....	7.6	10.4	21.1	11.4	12.8	7.2	12.5	4.6	15.5
Pacific.....	6.8	8.0	30.4	14.8	13.3	11.8	20.5	4.9	14.8

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE OF FARM OPERATORS NOT RESIDING ON FARM OPERATED, BY TYPE OF FARM AND REGION, 1950

Region	Type of farm ¹											
	Cash grain	Cotton	Other field crop	Vegetables	Fruit and nut	Dairy	Poultry	Livestock other than dairy and poultry	General—primarily crop	General—primarily livestock	Miscellaneous and unclassified	
United States.....	11.6	3.7	3.6	9.6	12.4	2.0	2.3	5.2	6.8	1.4	2.3	4.7
New England.....	10.0	—	11.2	5.6	12.2	2.2	2.6	6.5	9.6	3.1	1.6	4.1
Middle Atlantic.....	9.7	—	7.4	9.8	7.6	2.3	2.1	6.3	9.2	1.1	3.1	4.0
East North Central.....	7.6	*15.4	5.5	8.1	7.0	1.6	2.0	3.9	8.3	1.4	2.1	4.5
West North Central.....	12.6	5.5	12.1	7.3	6.8	1.5	2.5	3.4	13.6	1.3	1.8	6.5
South Atlantic.....	9.9	2.9	2.8	11.7	22.0	3.4	2.4	6.6	4.8	1.2	3.0	4.4
East South Central.....	8.3	2.4	3.5	2.3	6.1	2.9	1.6	5.0	2.9	1.4	1.9	3.6
West South Central.....	15.4	5.0	5.3	8.9	7.1	2.5	2.0	11.1	6.0	1.8	3.2	5.2
Mountain	15.0	13.7	7.4	10.2	9.0	4.0	7.4	8.8	9.7	3.5	4.3	8.9
Pacific	14.0	10.3	12.4	12.0	13.2	2.1	1.5	8.4	9.3	1.7	3.7	5.4

¹ Product or group of products amounting to 50 per cent or more of the value of all farm products sold.² This group includes all part-time, residential, and abnormal farms as well as commercial farms not otherwise classified.³ Based on 115 cotton farms in Illinois.

that with increasing specialization and mechanization of farming and the decline of the traditional family farm, nonresident farming will grow in importance.

Economic Class of Farm.—There is a pronounced tendency for the frequency of nonresident farming to increase as the value of farm products sold per farm increases (Table 7). The percentage of farm operators living off the farm operated climbs steadily from a low of 3.5 per cent for farms with incomes between \$250 and \$1,199 to 15.4 per cent for farms grossing over \$25,000 a year. Comparable data for every census division reflect the same trend.

Five per cent of the noncommercial, part-time farmers live off their land; this is somewhat above the national average of 4.7 per cent for all farmers. A large proportion (17.9 per cent) of the operators of "abnormal farms" live away from the place where they work (the "abnormal farms" include institutional farms, community enterprises, etc.). Most of these operators, of course, are farm managers. Only 4.2 per cent of the residential farms are operated by nonresidents. It is well known that a small percentage of the farms in the United States produce the bulk of farm products. It is in this highly productive group that nonresident farming is most important.

Summary.—In all sections of the United States it is on the farms with large acreages, grossing over \$25,000 a year, specializing in cash crops requiring only seasonal attention, and operated by a manager, part owner, or cash or crop-share tenant that the percentage of off-the-farm residence by the operator reaches a maximum. These characteristics are associated with commercialized agriculture.

On the other hand, few of the tenure groups practicing diversified farming—as is characteristic of pioneer farm-

ers, and more recently part-time and residential farmers—are nonresident operators.

CONCLUSIONS

The available data have made possible but a cursory examination of the trends and characteristics of nonresident farming. The significance of any sizeable increase in the percentage of farm operators residing in towns or cities should be obvious—from the standpoint of rural social organization, public planning, and rural sociological theory. Nonresident farming is an area worthy of considerable research, especially field studies.

Certain tentative conclusions may be drawn:

1. There is evidence to support the principal hypothesis of this study, "that as American agriculture becomes more industrialized, the nonresident farmer will increasingly control these industrialized operations."

2. There is little doubt that nonresident farming is positively correlated with commercialized agriculture, whether of the family or industrialized type, in all parts of the nation. An apparent trend for a greater percentage of commercial farm operators to reside off their farms is hidden, however, by an increase of part-time and residential farmers, who are customarily farm residents.

3. Concomitant with the trend for farm operators, especially those with extensive operations, to live in towns or other nonfarm areas is the trend for many small-scale farmers to engage in nonfarm work. More than half (56.5 per cent) of the farm operators working off the farm 100 days or more in 1949 had fewer than 50 acres. Only a fourth (25.4 per cent) of the nonresident farmers had fewer than 50 acres.

4. If there is a continuation of the trend for an increasing number of farm operators and other agricultural

TABLE 7. PERCENTAGE OF FARM OPERATORS NOT RESIDING ON FARM OPERATED, BY ECONOMIC CLASS AND REGION, 1950

Region	Commercial farms ¹						Other farms		
	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Class VI	Part-time	Residential	Abnormal
United States	15.4	6.5	4.5	4.5	4.4	3.5	5.0	4.2	17.9
New England	10.8	5.3	3.0	3.0	3.9	5.2	4.0	3.6	7.9
Middle Atlantic	8.7	4.3	3.3	3.0	3.6	3.7	4.0	3.5	15.3
East North Central	9.7	4.0	3.0	3.3	3.8	3.8	4.6	4.1	7.8
West North Central	10.4	4.6	3.7	4.9	6.7	6.4	6.9	5.8	26.0
South Atlantic	22.8	11.5	5.3	3.3	3.4	3.0	4.8	4.0	16.2
East South Central	16.8	9.5	5.5	3.2	2.7	2.5	3.7	3.5	9.5
West South Central	22.8	11.5	8.8	6.6	5.3	3.5	6.0	4.6	16.2
Mountain	17.4	8.9	7.4	8.9	9.7	8.4	10.2	7.3	26.9
Pacific	16.8	9.2	7.2	7.5	6.2	5.2	5.0	4.6	27.8

¹ Commercial farms have been grouped according to total value of farm products sold, as follows:

Class Value of farm products sold

I	\$25,000 or more
II	10,000 to \$24,999
III	5,000 to 9,999
IV	2,500 to 4,999
V	1,000 to 2,499
VI	250 to 999

(if operator worked off farm less than 100 days and nonfarm income of family was less than value of farm products sold)

workers to live in towns and cities and for more nonfarmers to live in rural areas, it will be necessary to give some attention to redefining the province of rural sociology. With such a trend

continuing, "rural" can hardly be considered to refer to a specific occupational group or to a way of life distinguishable from that found in the cities.

COMMERCIAL FARMING IN THE UNITED STATES

by R. L. Skrabanek†

ABSTRACT

This paper is principally a description of the role of commercial farming in the structure of American agriculture. The newly altered classification of commercial farms now enables a better description of the total agricultural picture of the United States, and information available under the new classification should serve as a valuable framework for certain phases of social and economic research.

Commercial farms made up 68.9 per cent of all farms in the United States in 1950. Although their numbers were decreasing, they comprised 88.1 per cent of the total acreage devoted to farming and accounted for 97.5 per cent of the value of farm products sold in the United States in 1949.

As compared with other farmers, smaller proportions of operators of commercial farms performed off-farm work. Their length of residence on the same farm was longer. Commercial farms had considerably higher proportions of tenancy. The commercial farmer was slightly younger than the operator of other farms.

During the last decade, striking changes have occurred in the scale of farm operations in the United States. Mechanization and a wide variety of technological improvements have been primarily responsible for an increasing number of large-scale farms. At the same time improvements in transportation, rural electrification, and growing industrialization in or near rural areas have resulted in increased numbers of small farms. Some of these small farms are classified as part-time units. Others are merely rural homes with incidental farm production of such small proportions that they are not considered farm units by people who live in the areas where they are found.

Changes in farm size and organization have resulted in the "average

farm" becoming an even more nebulous term than it has been in the past. These changes brought about the need for a more thorough classification of farms in the United States. As a result, a new classification appeared in the 1945 Census of Agriculture. This classification segregated broader groups of farms and enabled a better description of the total agricultural picture of the United States. It was later revised, and in 1950 the term "commercial farm" appeared in the census. Much background information is necessary for an effective analysis of the problems of the farmer today, and information now available under the new classification of commercial farms should serve as a valuable framework for certain phases of social and economic research.

Since data for commercial farms as newly defined were published for the

†Texas A. & M. College, College Station, Tex.

first time in census volumes in 1950, some of the pertinent questions and assumptions about commercial farming in the United States now require re-examination. Accordingly, this paper attempts to describe the major characteristics of commercial farming in the United States.

CLASSIFICATION OF FARMS BY ECONOMIC CLASS

Farming units are placed in economic classes by the Bureau of the Census for the purpose of segregating groups of farms that are somewhat alike in their characteristics. The two major groups are: (1) commercial farms and (2) other farms.

All farms selling farm products valued at \$1,200 or more in 1949 (with the exception of those classified as "abnormal") are classified as commercial units. Farms with a value of sales of \$250 to \$1,199 are also classified as commercial *provided* the operator worked off his farm less than 100 days during the year and the income of the operator and members of his family from nonfarm sources was less than the value of all farm products sold.¹

Commercial farms are further broken down into six groups, as follows:

Economic class of farm	Value of farm products sold
I.....	\$25,000 or more
II.....	\$10,000 to \$24,999
III.....	\$ 5,000 to \$ 9,999
IV.....	\$ 2,500 to \$ 4,999
V.....	\$ 1,200 to \$ 2,499
VI.....	\$ 250 to \$ 1,199*

*Provided the farm qualifies, as above.

Units classified as "other" farms have been grouped as: (1) part-time, (2) residential, and (3) abnormal.

Farms with sales of farm products of \$250 to \$1,999 were classified as *part-time* if the operator reported 100 or more days of work off the farm during

the year, or if the nonfarm income received by him and members of his family was greater than the value of the farm products sold.

Residential farms include all farms (except abnormal) with sales of farm products of less than \$250.

Abnormal farms include such types as public and private institutional farms, experiment station farms, grazing association farms, community enterprises, etc.²

On the basis of the above definitions, the main distinction is that commercial farms are operated as a business or constitute the major occupation of the farm family, whereas "other" farms do not furnish the major share of the income, although some farm operations are conducted.

Commercial farms in the United States span a wide range in incomes, sizes, and many other characteristics. Furthermore, the types and classes of commercial farms are important in varying degrees in the different areas of the nation. Since the focal point of this paper is upon the role of commercial farming in general, an analysis of differences found in various geographic regions need not be attempted here.³

NUMBER OF FARMS

Of the total of 5,379,250 farms in the United States in 1950, commercial farms numbered 3,706,412, or 68.9 per cent of all farms (Table 1). Residential farms are more numerous than any other individual economic class of farm in the United States, whereas, except for abnormal farms, Economic Class I farms are the fewest in number.

² *Ibid.*

³ For detailed maps showing the distribution of the different classes of commercial farms in the United States and for a discussion of their relative importance in various sections of the nation, see Bureau of the Census and Bureau of Agricultural Economics (cooperative report), *Agriculture, 1950, "A Graphic Summary,"* Vol. V, Pt. 6, pp. 52 f.

¹ Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of Agriculture, "General Report: Economic Class of Farm,"* Vol. II, chap. XII, p. xxxi.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF FARMS, LAND IN FARMS, AND VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS SOLD, BY ECONOMIC CLASS OF FARM, 1950

Economic class of farm	Number of farms	Land in farms	Value of farm products sold
<i>Per cent of aggregate</i>			
All farms.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Commercial farms:	68.9	88.1	97.5
Class I.....	1.9	21.6	26.0
Class II.....	7.1	18.6	24.8
Class III.....	13.4	18.6	22.7
Class IV.....	16.4	14.5	14.4
Class V.....	16.8	9.5	7.3
Class VI.....	13.3	5.3	2.3
Other farms:	31.1	11.9	2.5
Part-time.....	11.9	4.2	1.8
Residential.....	19.1	4.4	0.4
Abnormal.....	0.1	3.3	0.3

Source: Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of Agriculture*, "General Report: Economic Class of Farm," Vol. II, chap. XII, Table 1.

So far as the scale of operations is concerned, rural sociologists would be inclined to combine Class VI farms with units classed as "other" farms. The combined group of farms, all of which may be considered small-scale, account for nearly half of all the farms in the United States.

By applying such indexes as number of operators working off their farms and value of products sold, a few attempts have been made to study trends in numbers of commercial farms. In a recent article, one author concludes that as farm operations have become more mechanized, the number of commercial farms in the United States has declined rapidly. According to his calculations, the estimated number of commercial farms has dropped from 5.3 million in 1930 to 3.7 million in 1950. These figures indicate a reduction by almost a third within the last two decades.

While commercial farms have been decreasing in numbers, part-time and residential farms have experienced a rapid increase. The total number of farm operators working off the farm 100 days or more almost doubled between 1930 and 1950. Within the twenty-year period, their numbers in-

creased from 0.7 million to 1.3 million. At the same time, the total number of farm operators in the nation decreased by about 15 per cent. The increase in operators performing off-farm work is reflected in the gains in the number of part-time and residential farms. It has been estimated that they increased from about one million in 1930 to 1.7 million in 1950.⁴

LAND IN FARMS

Although commercial farms made up about two-thirds of the total number of farms in 1950, they comprised 88.1 per cent of the total acreage devoted to farming in the United States.

Table 1 shows that the acreage operated becomes progressively smaller for successively lower economic classes. The two highest classes of commercial farms had only 9 per cent of the nation's farms but accounted for 40.2 per cent of the total acreage devoted to farming. In contrast, the two lowest economic classes accounted for 30.1 per cent of the nation's farms, but only 14.8 per cent of the acreage in farms.

⁴ Kenneth L. Bachman, "Changes in Scale of Commercial Farming and Their Implications," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XXXIV:2 (May, 1952), p. 160.

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF FARM OPERATORS REPORTING SPECIFIED AMOUNTS OF OFF-FARM WORK, BY ECONOMIC CLASS OF FARM, 1950

Economic class of farm	Per cent working off farm:	
	1 to 99 days	100 days or over
All farms	16.0	23.9
Commercial farms:	18.1	9.3
Class I	10.8	8.4
Class II	15.8	6.5
Class III	17.4	7.2
Class IV	17.7	11.2
Class V	18.1	17.7
Class VI	21.7	—
Other farms:	11.1	56.3
Part-time	11.7	62.3
Residential	10.8	52.5
Abnormal	4.8	23.7

Source: Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of Agriculture, "General Report: Economic Class of Farm," Vol. II, chap. XII, Table 1.

The 61.2 per cent of farm operators who were at the lower end of the scale⁵ carried on their farming operations on only 26.7 per cent of the nation's farm land.

VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS SOLD

As previously noted, commercial farms comprise about 70 per cent of the farms in the nation. According to the data presented in Table 1, commercial farms accounted for almost 98 per cent of the value of farm products sold in the United States in 1949.

Thus, while the trend is for part-time and residential farms to make up a larger proportion of the total number of farms in the country, they contribute only a small part of the nation's agricultural production for sale. As of 1950, this group made up 31.1 per cent of the nation's farms, but produced only 2.5 per cent of the value of farm products sold.

Class I and II commercial farms represented less than a tenth of the nation's farms, yet they accounted for more than half of the value of all products sold. Farms in Classes V and

VI amounted to about three-tenths of all farms, but provided less than one-tenth of the value of all farm products sold.

OFF-FARM WORK

About two out of five (39.9 per cent) of the farm operators in the United States worked off their farms in 1949.

Varying conditions under which farmers operate their respective enterprises determine, at least in part, the amount of off-farm work they do. Among the determining factors are size of farm operations, the existence of slack seasons of work on the operator's farm, and local opportunities for off-farm employment.

The proportion of operators performing off-farm work was less than half as great among commercial farmers as among the operators of farms classified as "other." These figures were 27.4 and 67.4 per cent, respectively (Table 2). Among commercial farm operators, the proportion working off the farm between 1 and 99 days during the year becomes greater for successively lower economic classes. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that a greater proportion of operators of Class I farms work off their farms more than

⁵ "Other" farms plus Economic Classes V and VI—thus, all farms selling less than \$2,500 worth of products.

100 days than is the case for either Class II or Class III farmers.

In each category of commercial farmers, without exception, operators working off the farm less than 100 days during the year outnumber those who put in more than this number of days of work off their farms. However, such is not the case among operators of "other" farms.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE ON SAME FARM

More than two out of five farmers (43.3 per cent) in the United States have resided on the same farm for a period of 10 years or more.

As may be noted in Table 3, commercial farms had a slightly greater percentage of their operators who had lived on the same farm longer than 10 years than did the noncommercial farms.

Among commercial farmers, operators of Class I farms had resided on the same farm for five or more years more frequently than had operators in other farm classes. The proportions with this amount of continuous residence were smaller for successively lower economic classes, through Class V. Class I farms also had the largest proportion of operators who had lived

on the same farm for longer than 10 years. The proportions in this category decrease successively with each lower economic class, through Class V.

TENURE

The percentage of farms operated by owners in the United States continued to increase during the last decade. In 1950 almost three-fourths (73.1 per cent) of the nation's farms were operated by either full or part owners, as compared with 60.7 per cent in 1940.

A review of Table 4 reveals that a higher percentage of commercial farms are tenant-operated than is the case for other farms. In general, the percentage of all operators represented by full owners increases as the gross farm income decreases. Thus, the percentage of operators who are full owners is lowest on Class I commercial farms and progressively higher for each lower income class. The percentage of operators who are part owners represents precisely a reverse pattern, in that it decreases rapidly from Class I to Class VI farms and decreases further for "other" farms. These circumstances suggest that using accumulated capital to operate additional

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FARM OPERATORS BY NUMBER OF YEARS ON SAME FARM AND BY ECONOMIC CLASS OF FARM, 1950

Economic class of farm	Years on same farm			Total
	Less than 5	5 to 9	10 or more	
All farms	36.7	20.0	43.3	100.0
Commercial farms:	35.5	20.1	44.4	100.0
Class I	25.6	21.9	52.5	100.0
Class II	28.1	23.1	48.8	100.0
Class III	31.1	22.5	46.4	100.0
Class IV	35.7	20.5	43.8	100.0
Class V	40.8	18.8	40.4	100.0
Class VI	38.4	16.9	44.7	100.0
Other farms:	39.4	19.8	40.8	100.0
Part-time	41.7	20.3	38.0	100.0
Residential	38.0	19.3	42.7	100.0
Abnormal	40.1	16.6	43.3	100.0

Source: Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of Agriculture, "General Report: Economic Class of Farm," Vol. II, chap. XII, Table 1.

rented land is perhaps the most expeditious method of farm expansion.

That there are fewer tenants on farms classified as "other" than on commercial farms is not surprising, in view of the fact that it is relatively less difficult to attain title to a homesite or residential farm than to a commercial farm unit. Among commercial farmers alone, except for considerably fewer tenants on Class I farms, the proportions of tenant operators are about

equal for the different economic classes of farms.

The number of farms operated by managers is relatively small. In fact, only two groups of farms (Class I and "abnormal") had large enough percentages operated by managers to warrant attention.

AGE OF OPERATORS

The average age of the farm operator in the United States in 1950 was 48.3.

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FARM OPERATORS BY MAJOR TENURE CLASSES AND BY ECONOMIC CLASS OF FARM, 1950

Economic class of farm	Tenure class				Total
	Full owners	Part owners	Managers	Tenants	
All farms.....	57.5	15.6	0.4	26.5	100.0
Commercial farms:	48.9	19.7	0.5	30.9	100.0
Class I.....	36.4	39.0	6.4	18.2	100.0
Class II.....	37.7	32.1	1.5	28.7	100.0
Class III.....	43.5	26.1	0.7	29.7	100.0
Class IV.....	50.0	19.8	0.2	30.0	100.0
Class V.....	52.8	14.2	0.1	32.9	100.0
Class VI.....	55.8	10.5	0.1	33.6	100.0
Other farms:	76.4	6.7	0.2	16.7	100.0
Part-time.....	72.2	9.5	0.1	18.2	100.0
Residential.....	79.3	4.9	—	15.8	100.0
Abnormal.....	19.8	3.2	68.7	8.3	100.0

Source: Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of Agriculture, "General Report: Economic Class of Farm," Vol. II, chap. XII, Table 1.

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FARM OPERATORS BY AGE AND BY ECONOMIC CLASS OF FARM, 1950

Economic class of farm	Age groups				Total
	Under 25 years	25 to 44 years	45 to 64 years	65 years and over	
All farms.....	3.2	39.3	42.7	14.8	100.0
Commercial farms:	3.5	40.3	43.2	13.0	100.0
Class I.....	1.7	45.3	45.0	8.0	100.0
Class II.....	2.2	47.3	43.3	7.2	100.0
Class III.....	2.7	46.2	43.0	8.1	100.0
Class IV.....	3.3	42.1	43.8	10.8	100.0
Class V.....	4.2	29.1	42.7	13.8	100.0
Class VI.....	4.6	29.1	42.7	23.6	100.0
Other farms:	2.7	36.7	41.9	18.7	100.0
Part-time.....	3.1	40.9	42.4	13.6	100.0
Residential.....	2.4	34.0	41.6	22.0	100.0
Abnormal.....	2.0	25.5	49.9	12.6	100.0

Source: Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of Agriculture, "General Report: Economic Class of Farm," Vol. II, chap. XII, Table 1.

Farmers in Class VI were the oldest, with an average of 51.6 years.

When compared with other farmers (Table 5), operators of commercial units had a larger proportion in every individual age group, with the exception of the 65-and-over group. Among commercial farmers alone, the lower economic classes had a consistently higher percentage of operators under 25 and of those 65 and over than did the higher economic classes.

Commercial farmers in 1950 were slightly younger than were the operators of "other" farms. The average ages of these two groups were 47.6 and 49.8, respectively. This was as expected, since so many part-time and (particularly) residential farmers are in semi-retirement. It is evident that small-scale farms, as a group, are being operated by considerably larger proportions of older persons than are large-scale farms.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Although the definition of commercial farms has recently been altered,

enough raw data are available to make possible extensive studies of their characteristics. In the preparation of this paper it was assumed that many rural sociologists would not yet have had reason to familiarize themselves extensively with the topic. Hence, this article is general in nature, and no attempt is made to elaborate on many points that ordinarily would have been worthy of more than cursory attention.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the individual differences within, as well as between, the six classes of commercial farms are substantial. The extensive ranches of the West, for example, contrast sharply with other types of larger farms found in different sections of the United States. It is to be hoped that further analyses of the characteristics of commercial farms in different sections of the country will be made; for such analyses should contribute toward a better understanding of the many complicated social and economic problems of the farmer today.

MECHANIZED AGRICULTURE AND THE FARM LABORER*

by *Harald A. Pedersen†*

ABSTRACT

Mechanization has progressed at varying rates in the several regions. Only in the Cotton Belt and the fruit and vegetable areas does the farm laborer survive as a primary source of labor supply. In all areas, as mechanization has increased, work animals have been displaced, farm population has decreased, and production per man-hour has increased.

Farmers' adjustment to mechanization varies by region. On a large cotton plantation studied, the transition to tractors was relatively complete, but the field hand was still used for picking and weeding. The proportion of land used for cotton increased with mechanization, but that allotted to tenants decreased greatly, and that operated by wage labor increased. White supervisory personnel and Negro day hands increased in numbers, but the tenant population (also Negro) dropped sharply. The day hands included the relatively young semiskilled workers and the "pensioners"; there were few women and few nonworkers in this population group. The tenant families included more nonworkers, fewer men, and fewer persons in the most productive ages.

With continuing mechanization, the status of the general farm laborer will be increasingly insecure. In the Cotton Belt, out-migration has recently proceeded even faster than mechanization. The laborers who are retained will be those trained in the skills necessary under mechanization.

If mechanization and associated technological changes are contributing to the emergence of a new rural society, the contribution will be observed in the impact of these changes upon the farm labor force. Changes in the number and in the status of farm operators and farm workers will result in changes in the nature and extent of interaction observed in rural areas.

The focus in this discussion will be on mechanization and the farm laborer—i. e., the member of the agricultural labor force who contributes only his labor to the production process, in return for wages or a share of the crop. Three major questions will be considered:

1. What is the extent of technological advance, particularly mechanization, in agriculture and

the magnitude of concomitant changes in the agricultural labor force?

2. What changes have occurred in farm organization to adjust to these changes in technology and manpower?
3. What are the characteristics of the farm laborer and what is his status and function in mechanized agriculture?

TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE AND THE AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE

The number of tractors on farms—an index frequently used to measure the amount of technological change—gives a fairly reliable estimate of change for the country as a whole, but has some shortcomings for regional comparisons. The need, even with mechanization, for hoe and harvest hands in cotton and for harvest hands in truck and fruit farming illustrates the deficiency of the index as a predictor of labor demand.

Annual records of the number of farm tractors are available from the

*Journal Article No. 356, Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station. A paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society in Stillwater, Okla., Sept. 4-6, 1953.

†Mississippi State College, State College, Miss.

year 1910, at which time only 1,000 tractors were enumerated (Table 1).

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF FARM TRACTORS AND WORKSTOCK IN THE UNITED STATES, IN SELECTED YEARS, 1910-1952*

Year	Tractors	Workstock
	Number	Number
1910	1,000	24,211,000
1918	85,000	26,723,000
1920	246,000	25,742,000
1930	920,000	19,124,000
1940	1,545,000	14,478,000
1950	3,615,000	7,781,000
1952	4,170,000	6,293,000

*Compiled from *Farm Power and Farm Machines*, F. M. 101, USDA, BAE (Washington, D. C., Feb., 1953), p. 2.

By 1918 the number was 85,000; but between 1918 and 1920 the number of tractors nearly tripled—in 1920 there were 246,000. The high rate of increase continued through 1921, after which the average increase was 65,000 annually for the next twenty years. There was a noticeable slackening in the mid-1930's and an appreciable rise in the latter years of that decade. The accelerated increase following World War II brought the average annual rate of increase to 210,000 for the decade 1940-50, which started with a million and a half tractors on farms and ended with 3,600,000. In 1952 the inventory was 4,170,000 tractors. During the same period, 1910-1952, the number

of work animals on farms decreased at an average annual rate of about 420,000, from 24,000,000 to 6,300,000.

A slightly different approach to estimating the displacement of work animals is based on the assumption that, if no tractors had been introduced on farms, the number of work animals per 100 acres of harvested crops would have remained at the 1920 level. The difference between the actual number of work animals on farms in 1952 and the number there would have been at the 1920 rate provides a base for computing a rate of displacement by tractors. For the nation as a whole, the rate of displacement was 3.5 work animals per tractor. The regional rates of displacement ranged from 6.1 in the Mountain States to 1.3 in the Southeast, where even in the Delta States the rate was only about 2 animals per tractor.¹

While this mechanization was taking place on the farms of the nation, the number of people on farms was declining. When enumerated separately for the first time in 1910, there were 31,900,000 persons living on farms. The number remained at the 30,000,000 fig-

¹ Some subregional displacement rates were: Appalachian Mountain Area, 1.7; Delta States, 1.9; Corn Belt, 3.6; Great Plains, 4.9; Mountain States, 6.1; and Oklahoma-Texas Area, 5.3 animals per tractor. Albert P. Brodell, Paul E. Strickler, and Paul P. Wallravenstein, *Farm Power and Farm Machines*, F. M. 101, USDA, BAE (Washington, D. C., Feb., 1953), p. 7.

TABLE 2. FARM POPULATION AND AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE IN THE UNITED STATES, IN SELECTED YEARS, 1910-1952

Year	Rural farm population		Agricultural labor force	
	Number	Per cent of total population	Number	Per cent of total labor force
1910	31,854,933	34.6	11,591,767	31.0
1920	31,393,262	29.7	11,448,770	27.0
1930	30,157,513	24.5	10,471,998	21.4
1940	30,216,188	22.9	9,162,547	17.6
1950	23,048,350	15.6	6,884,970	12.2

ure for the next three decades, or until 1940. In 1950 the rural farm population was enumerated at 23,000,000 (Table 2). Though the farm population remained nearly constant between 1910 and 1940, the relative importance of the group declined steadily—from 35 per cent of the total population in 1910 to 23 per cent in 1940. The 1950 enumeration placed the rural farm population at 15.6 per cent of the total. The relative importance of the farm population varies considerably from region to region. The East South Central division has the highest proportion of farm people, with nearly 49 per cent of the total living on farms in 1950.²

The number of persons engaged in agricultural pursuits has declined steadily. During the period for which figures are available, the maximum was 11,600,000 persons, in 1910 (Table 2). The number declined to 9,200,000 (17.6 per cent of the total labor force) in 1940, and to 6,900,000 (12.2 per cent of the total labor force) in 1950.³

These two trends—the change in the primary source of power on the farm and the change in the number of persons employed in agriculture—have been related in a composite index which gives some indication of the increased efficiency of farm labor. On the basis of the 1935-39 average as 100, the agricultural production in 1910 had an index value of 79 (Table 3). The index of agricultural production for 1950 was 138. Similarly, the labor input in 1910 had a value of 107. The maximum

labor input was observed in 1920, when the value was 114. Following 1920, labor input declined to an index of 94 in 1950. The index of output divided by the index of input gives an index of agricultural production per man-hour of work. This index for 1910 was 74, and it increased steadily in each decade, with a sharp increase in the decade 1940-50, when the index value rose from 112 to 164.

TABLE 3. INDICES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, LABOR INPUT, AND LABOR EFFICIENCY IN THE UNITED STATES, IN SELECTED YEARS, 1910-1950*

Year	Output	Labor input	Output per man-hour
1910.....	79	107	74
1920.....	92	114	81
1930.....	95	109	87
1940.....	110	98	112
1950.....	138	84	164

*Compiled from *Farm Power and Farm Machines*, F. M. 101, USDA, BAE (Washington, D. C., Feb., 1953), p. 2. Base period: average of 1935-39.

All of the increases in production per man-hour cannot be ascribed to advances in mechanization alone, but are the combined results of increased efficiencies resulting from improved seed, better livestock, and better and more efficient fertilization practices, as well as the retirement of marginal lands from agricultural uses.

CHANGES IN FARM ORGANIZATION

What changes are made on the individual farm when a tractor replaces the farm team? Initially, in nearly every area, the tractor has supplemented the farm team. In the farmer's own judgment, there are literally hundreds of jobs that cannot be performed with a tractor. Ask him to name one, however, and he looks back over the year and recalls that even the garden was worked up with the tractor this year.

² In the Northeast, farm people account for only 6.4 per cent of the total; in the North Central States, 23 per cent; in the South, 39 per cent; and in the West, 17 per cent. See *U. S. Census of Population, 1950, "General Characteristics"* (Washington, D. C., 1952).

³ The 1950 figure is an underestimate of the actual number employed in agriculture, since employment among children aged 10-13 years is not included in the labor force data for 1950.

Once the farmer has sold himself on the idea of working with a tractor, the next thing that impresses itself upon him is the cost. The tractor fuel cannot be raised on the farm. The day-to-day operations require a cash outlay. Eventually the farmer discovers for himself that he can accomplish more per unit of cost, as the "book farmers" have been saying, with tractor equipment. But farming with tractors takes money. It entails the production of a marketable crop. It is a commercial operation.

The Corn Belt farmer when confronted with mechanization makes his usual adjustment to an expanding labor supply. He buys or rents additional land. Where he was able to handle 240 acres before he bought the tractor, he now has labor enough to handle perhaps 320 acres. An alternative is to get along without the hired man, who is becoming increasingly hard to find.

The wheat farmer, when tractors and combines come into the area, hardly changes his mode of operation. Custom work is the established order. Whether he pays the combine operator or the separator operator makes little difference, except that if he has the crop combined he eliminates the need for extra harvest hands. In either case, it is a cash transaction.

The dairy farmer is a commercial farmer. The tractor is essential to mechanization of a dairy farm, but it is not the most critical machine. Electricity and the milking machine are the timesavers. In the Wisconsin dairy area, the dairyman can increase the number of cows milked by as much as one-half when milking machines are installed. A more likely adjustment is for machine milkers to be installed in order to maintain production, despite a dwindling labor supply. In the dairy area, more than in other areas, mechanization enables the retiring farmer to maintain a higher minimum produc-

tion than would be possible if he were dependent upon his own or hired labor.⁴

The development of large-scale mechanized operations in the western fruit and vegetable areas became possible with the movement of migratory labor through the area. Without this mobile labor force the vast operations would not have been possible. The large-scale operation is both a cause and an effect of the migratory movement. It could not have emerged nor can it survive without this mobile labor force.

The Cotton Belt and the South, as noted earlier, are retarded in level of mechanization when compared with the nation as a whole. Cotton production has traditionally been dependent upon a large and a cheap labor supply, and nearly half of the nation's farm population is in the Cotton Belt States. In the postwar period, with continuing high levels of economic activity in the nation, considerable advances are being made in mechanization, but these are largely the result of the migration of labor from the area. In a recent publication the present writer observed that mechanization in the area currently is progressing only as fast as the dwindling labor force demands it.⁵ The advance of mechanization is still spotty, and plantation management continues to be concerned primarily with obtaining and retaining labor.

The cotton farm, whether family unit or plantation, has traditionally been self-sufficient with respect to labor. The earlier students of the area observed in the 1930's that the factor limiting farm size was the amount of

⁴Harald A. Pedersen, "A Cultural Evaluation of the Family Farm Concept," *Land Economics*, XXVI, No. 1 (Feb., 1950).

⁵Harald A. Pedersen, "Attitude Relating to Mechanization and Farm Labor Changes in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta," *Land Economics*, XXVIII, No. 4 (Nov., 1952).

cotton the labor on the farm could pick.⁶ Today the mechanical cotton picker has been introduced and accepted with varying degrees of acclaim, but a new limiting factor, weed control, is now the primary concern. The advance of mechanization in the Cotton Belt will result in greater changes in the social and economic life of the area than observed in most other regions of the nation. A clearer picture of the changes associated with mechanization may be had by examining the situation on a specific plantation.

One plantation now being studied by the writer has converted to tractor equipment since 1941, with the major transition occurring since 1946. In 1941 there were over 1,200 horses and mules on the plantation, and in 1952 only 113—less than 10 head per 1,500-acre unit. The plantation boasted only 9 tractors in 1941, but 180 in 1953 (Table 4). Twenty-eight mechanical cotton

TABLE 4. SOURCES OF WORK POWER ON A YAZOO-MISSISSIPPI DELTA PLANTATION, 1941 AND 1953

Power units	1941	1953
Horses and mules....	1,200	113
Tractors	9	180
Cotton pickers	0	30

pickers supplemented the field hands in the cotton-picking operations in 1952, and 30 were available for the 1953 harvest. The transition from horses and mules to tractors is relatively complete. The field hand has not been displaced as yet in the cotton-

picking operation and is critically necessary for weed control.

The plantation operation, in terms of total acreage and acres planted to cotton, remained relatively constant during the 12-year period. Data on total acreage are not available for the 1953 crop year, but up to 1952 the total acreage on the plantation had declined approximately 5 per cent, to 21,606. The acres planted to cotton increased by nearly 13 per cent, with 11,000 acres harvested in 1952; but the acreage allotted to tenants declined by 57 per cent. In 1941, 9,500 acres of a total of 9,900 were operated by share tenants. In 1952, with 11,000 acres harvested, only 4,000 acres were operated by share tenants (Table 5).

TABLE 5. LAND IN COTTON ON A YAZOO-MISSISSIPPI DELTA PLANTATION, 1941 AND 1952

Land use	1941	1952	Change
	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Total land.....	22,700	21,606	- 4.8
Cotton, total....	9,802	11,047	12.7
Cotton, shares ..	9,487	4,061	-57.2

This relationship illustrates the basic change which occurs in the transition from mule operation to mechanized operation. The acreage allotted to tenants is drastically curtailed and the "day crop"⁷ is expanded. Mechanized operations tend to augment the staff of management personnel.⁸ In 1941, fifty-eight white supervisory persons managed the production operations of 2,769

⁷ The "day crop" refers to that portion of the cotton acreage which is not allotted to tenants but is worked with hired labor or "day hands."

⁸ This was observed in an earlier comparative study of a mechanized and an unmechanized plantation and is also borne out by the evidence in the current analysis. See Harald A. Pedersen and Arthur Raper, *The Cotton Plantation in Transition*, AES Bull. 508, Mississippi State College, State College, Miss. (Jan., 1954).

⁶ Rupert B. Vance, *Human Factors in Cotton Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929), p. 199. See also Paul S. Taylor, "Power Farming and Labor Displacement in the Cotton Belt, 1937," *Monthly Labor Review* (Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Dept. of Labor), March and April, 1938.

TABLE 6. POPULATION AND DEPENDENCY RATIOS ON A YAZOO-MISSISSIPPI DELTA PLANTATION, 1941 AND 1953

Population category	Numbers		Per cent change	Dependency ratio ¹	
	1941	1953		1941	1953
Total	4,071	2,362	-42.0	32	68
White	146	233	59.6	152	211
Negro	3,925	2,129	-45.8	30	60
Day hands	292	549	88.0	14	37
Tenants	3,633	1,580	-56.5	31	70

¹ Number of nonworkers per 100 workers as classified in the plantation census.

workers in tenant families and 256 "day hands." In 1953, there were 75 persons in the white supervisory staff, 927 workers in the tenant families, and 400 regular day hands.

In summary, it may be said that mechanization tends to make the farm a self-sustaining operation with respect to labor; farm operators in most areas are no longer critically dependent upon hired labor. Only in the Cotton Belt and in the fruit and vegetable areas, where mechanization of the harvest operations and some preharvest operations is lagging, are there critical seasonal demands for farm laborers.

THE FARM LABORER

The remainder of the discussion will be concerned with the characteristics, the status, and the function of those members of the agricultural labor force who contribute only their labor to the production process in return for wages or a share of the crop. These persons, whether classified as "day hands," tenants, or seasonal workers, have only a very tenuous hold on the land they cultivate. How tenuous their status is, is exemplified by some comparative statistics from the plantation discussed in the preceding section.

The demographic characteristics of the various segments of the plantation population may indicate something about the potential stability of each group. In 1941 there were 4,071 per-

sons on the plantation, and in 1952 only 2,362—a loss of 42 per cent (Table 6). The white population, made up of management personnel and their families, increased from 146 in 1941 to 233 in 1953.

Except for an abortive attempt to resettle displaced persons from Europe on one unit, the plantation has always used Negro field hands. These operate (1) as day hands who are paid a daily wage or (2) as tenants who receive a share of the crop.⁹ The day-hand families accounted for 292 persons in 1941 and 549 in 1953, an increase of 88 per cent (Table 6).

The day-hand population is bimodal in age characteristics and includes two subgroups of workers. The sex ratio for the group as a whole is 153 males per 100 females, and one 10-year age-group—those aged 15-24—has two men for every woman in the group. The younger male workers, up to about 40

⁹ The tenants are all sharecroppers who receive half the crop in return for their labor, and under mechanized operations all labor costs are charged to the tenant's share. The costs of seed, fertilizer, and poison usually are shared equally by the tenant and landlord. The landlord usually advances the tenant sufficient money for family subsistence from March to August.

For further detail about the operations and arrangements on this plantation, see Harald A. Pedersen, *Selectivity in Rural-Urban Migration*, AES Circ. 190, Mississippi State College, State College, Miss. (Dec., 1953).

years old, are skilled and semiskilled workers of the mechanized operation. They are the tractor drivers, the mechanics, and the "grease monkeys." They are the ones most in demand, and there is a high turnover in the group. The tractor supervisor commented when asked about the number of tractors: "... 180, and only 80 drivers that I can depend on!"

The day-hand population has a low dependency ratio—only 37 nonworkers per 100 workers in 1953. As compared with the tenant group, this population has a higher proportion (51 per cent) in the young, productive ages 15-49, and a higher proportion of people 50 years old and older (20 per cent). In the latter group are found the pensioners or near pensioners, who are given nominal jobs and mainly just "putter around" the plantation headquarters doing odd jobs or nothing at all.

The population in the tenant families decreased by 57 per cent, from 3,633 persons in 1941 to 1,580 in 1953 (Table 6). The actual loss in labor is even more acute than the total figures indicate. For 1941, the dependency ratio of the tenant population was 31 nonworkers per 100 workers, compared with 70 for 1953.

The higher dependency ratio is in part the result of the high birth rates which have prevailed generally in the postwar period. The percentage of the tenant population under 5 years of age rose from 10 to 15 on the plantation between 1941 and 1953. Similar increases were observed in the other subgroups on the plantation.

In contrast, the proportion aged 15-49—the most productive ages—decreased from 43 per cent in 1941 to 35 per cent in 1953. This decrease likewise represents a trend observed generally in rural population groups. The decrease for the tenant population was

more pronounced, however, than that for all rural Negroes in the South.¹⁰

The concentration of old people was not so pronounced as in the day-hand population, but 18 per cent of the members of tenant families were 50 years old or older in 1953.

The tenant family is the most vulnerable part of the resident labor force. The tenant arrangement is a residual trait of the traditional plantation. When tractors replace mules, only the hoeing and picking are left for the tenant family, which formerly had nearly continuous work from planting time until the last bale was picked. The work cycle is shortened, but, to compensate for the tractor work charged against his cotton, the tenant is given first chance at the hoe work on the day crop. Since each family can hoe nearly twice the acreage it can pick, considerable number of days can be worked for wages on the day crop. If the tenants are not able to keep up with the hoeing and picking on their own and the day crop, the manager brings in labor from town. The tenant family serves as a primary labor reservoir for the plantation.

Formerly the men plowed and cultivated with the mules, the women and children hoed, and everybody picked. The work remaining for the tenant family is "woman's work." This tends to lower the threshold of migration for the men. Because the jobs are all alike, the man no longer can set himself apart as the head of the family by reserving for himself a distinct job. Add to this the high level of employment prevailing in the nation and the fact that Negro migration in the United States is a long-distance migration, then a scarcity of men in the young and intermediate ages is understandable. The sex ratios for the tenant

¹⁰ U. S. Census of Population, 1950, "General Characteristics" (Washington, D. C., 1952).

population are 73 for ages 15-24, 50 for ages 25-49, and 81 for ages 50-64.

Whether pushed or pulled off the land, the men are on the move. Some find employment as day hands on this or other plantations, some move to neighboring villages or towns, and some move North.

Management on nearly every large-scale operation in the Cotton Belt must look for supplementary labor to help out during the exceptionally wet periods in the summer when the grass grows rank in the cotton. The supplementary labor for hoeing is recruited in the neighboring villages and cities.

In recent years the exodus from farms to cities and villages has been considerable; with few exceptions the cities and villages gained in population between 1940 and 1950. During the hoeing and picking season the daily exodus from cities and villages to farms is even larger. A study of the farm workers living in villages and cities in 1952¹¹ revealed that approximately half of the workers had moved from farms within the last five years, and nearly two-thirds within the last eight years. For the group as a whole, the mean number of days worked on farms during the year 1951 was just under 100 days. The group includes some who have year-round jobs on farms but prefer to live in town and commute. The total time worked by this group, including nonfarm off-season jobs, averaged only 123 days.

The sampling unit in the study was the household, and a work history was obtained for every person in the household who had worked for wages during the calendar year 1951. The workers enumerated averaged 2.3 per household. At the average wage per day in the area, the potential income per household hardly reaches \$1,200.

The farm laborers living in villages

and cities are the least stable of the local farm labor supply. A third of the families admitted to having some members of the family away. There was a high ratio of broken families—one spouse was absent in 35 per cent of the families.

The final labor reservoir for seasonal labor is the migratory stream. In the eastern section of the Cotton Belt, the migratory worker is less important than in the western section. The employers are not very happy with the migrant as a worker, and as long as the local supply is adequate there are few demands for migrants; but in two out of three years the labor supply seems critical and the call for migrants is heard. The eastern section probably contributes more workers to the stream than it uses. The migrants are "the rejects of those sectors of agriculture and of other industries undergoing change. We depend on misfortune to build up our force of migratory workers and, when the supply is low because there is not enough misfortune at home, we rely on misfortune abroad to replenish the supply."¹²

SUMMARY

Mechanization in agriculture has progressed at varying rates in the several regions of the nation. One of the primary reasons for lags in the advance of mechanization is the lack of appropriate equipment for specific operations. Harvest operations in cotton and in fruit and vegetable production are still primarily hand-labor operations. This lag in the development of equipment creates a seasonal demand for farm labor in some sections of the country.

In general, mechanization tends to make the farm operation more self-

¹¹ Harald A. Pedersen, "The Nonresident Farm Worker" (unpublished).

¹² Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, 1951, "Migratory Labor in American Agriculture" (Washington, D. C., 1951), p. 3.

sufficient as to labor. This is the adjustment which is observed in the Corn Belt, the Wheat Belt, and the dairy areas. Only in the Cotton Belt and in the fruit and vegetable areas does the farm laborer survive as a primary source of labor supply. The need for wage hands in these areas is associated with the development of large-scale agricultural operations. The Cotton Belt, in addition, has had a long history of extensive labor utilization. Cotton production has continued as a hoe culture for a longer period than any other agricultural operation in the nation.

The arrangement by which labor is secured for these seasonal operations varies with the region. In the Old Cotton Belt, resident laborers are the primary source of the labor supply. The workers may serve as day hands or as tenants. Their status in the production process is roughly the same under both arrangements.

A secondary source of seasonal labor is the population living in the villages and cities of the subregion. There are few alternative employment opportunities for labor, and when farm labor demand increases nearly everyone turns out to work on the farms. A third source of labor which is less important in the Old Cotton Belt and more important in the western area is the migratory worker. The migratory worker comes to the area from some other area

and moves on after the major work is completed.

In the future, mechanization can be expected to take over increasing amounts of the, as yet, unmechanized operations in these areas. As more and more work is done by power equipment, the status of the general farm laborer will become less and less secure. The indications are that the farm laborer, at least in the Old Cotton Belt, is aware of his precarious position in cotton production. The migration rates from this area are so high that, for the present at least, production managers are finding it difficult to mechanize fast enough to fill in the vacuum left by departing workers.

In the areas where large-scale agriculture exists, there will continue to be a demand for some farm laborers. The farm laborers who are retained will be skilled and semiskilled workers who are trained in the skills necessary for mechanized operations. The areas in which there are large numbers of resident farm laborers are likely to find themselves saddled with a critical problem of readjustment and rehabilitation. The high proportion of old people observed in the plantation labor force is indicative of the extent to which many workers are merely serving out their time. These are too old to begin learning a new trade on their own initiative and yet have no visible means for retirement.

THE NEED FOR A FUNCTIONAL THEORY OF SOCIAL CLASS*

by C. Arnold Anderson†

ABSTRACT

The utility of broadening current research on social stratification is based on the assumption that classes are real groups with characteristic norms, patterns of activities, and tangible effects upon the social system. Though these functional aspects of social class have received little attention, the framing of research in terms of "class struggle" is questioned. In this country at least, class alignments are attenuated by the high proportion of multi-strata affiliations. It is argued that only a small proportion of major conflicts in society turn on class. Clashes between interest groups typically involve organizations recruited from several classes, or are factional struggles within classes. There is a preponderant consensus within the public on most issues. Certain positive functions of classes in limiting, as well as deepening, conflicts are outlined. The need for historical studies of the functions of classes is emphasized.

We have not learned the lessons taught by economic historians and anthropologists if we fail to conceive social classes as rooted in societal functions. The various classes play distinctive roles in society. In the Western world at least, social classes bring about fundamental changes in the society and in their own nature. How much conflict is engendered varies with the rigidity of the classes and the extent of their mutual adaptations.

Search for a functional perspective is not mere perfectionism. From the community studies of social stratification it would be difficult to frame a clear notion of what the several classes do. To enumerate their occupations or wealth or affiliations is not to answer this question. One infers that classes are striving mainly to push others down or to achieve a position enabling them to do so.

Sociologists properly begin the analysis of class systems by speaking of the requisite nature of stratification and the universality of classes; we say classes have a *function*. But, once the generalities are passed, we too easily

forget these axioms. Discussion descends to description of particular classes, often reified, and sometimes accompanied by mordant comments about inequality. The fact that inequality typically does not involve class relationships is neglected. To point out that the value hierarchy is incorporated in the status hierarchy is not sufficient; the modes of integration require examination. Sociological writing about stratification suffers from a compartmentalization that permits distortions of several kinds, each tending to conceal the functional significance of classes.

One of these distortions stems from the high value sociologists place upon "the democratic ethic." By focusing upon this value, instead of the functions of classes, we fall into two kinds of error: (1) distortion in the definition of problems, and (2) a blurring of vision in empirical observations. Moreover, "equality" may be conceived in too narrow and static a sense.

Closely related to this moralistic undertone is a not uncommon doctrinaire theorizing. For example, a questionable application of Freudianism misconceives the role of the middle classes and exaggerates the importance

*Revision of a talk delivered at the annual banquet of the Rural Sociological Society, Stillwater, Okla., Sept. 5, 1953.

†University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

of snobbery. Normally we disregard political processes; yet we highlight the political aspects of class systems. From this ensues a lopsided view of both political processes and the nature of classes. When economic aspects of class relations receive attention, it is too readily assumed that conflicts over power center in strictly economic interests, and that economic interests coincide with classes (conceived, moreover, to be readily identified). Among other things, we beg the question as to the cross-cutting of class lines in various areas of conflict. What is the relative importance of intraclass economic clashes, of conflicts between groups each of which embraces members from different classes, and of class-focused conflict? The matter-of-fact treatment of competition when ecology is discussed is not carried into an equally functional analysis of class struggle.¹ We fail to use what Simmel taught us about the positive function of conflict. It would be superficial to regard class struggle as functional only as it leads to the elimination of classes—after having demonstrated the universality of class systems.

In strictly empirical studies, any presupposition that the various strata are readily identified aggravates the ever-present danger of forcing data into preconceived molds. Rarely are deviant individuals or discrepant judgments about status positions given due weight; the nature of the deviations and their implication for the system are passed over. A static treatment magnifies class distinctions by paying too little heed to the vital role of mobility. As a result "classes" tend to be reified as clear-cut entities, and the door is opened to premature conclusions about class struggle. The functions of classes are concealed by the

static frame of reference and the illusory simplified class construct.

A widely used manual on stratification² states that social class "is a major determinant of individual decisions and social actions; that every major area of American life is directly and indirectly influenced by our class order; and that the major decisions of most individuals are partly controlled by it." Would the statement be less valid if one substituted race, family, or religion for class? The difficult problem is not the existence of influence, but the amount.

An elementary logical omission has checked progress in this area of investigation and encouraged reliance on persuasive examples. If we had a representative sample of social conflicts, it would be possible to classify these as to their presumptive locus. By association or variance analysis one might then assess the relative frequency of race, religious, economic, and other struggles.³ To browse through any comprehensive survey of major conflicts in American life is to acquire serious doubts as to the comparative prominence of class struggle.

HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY CLASS STRUGGLE

Two main complex variables govern both the locus and the intensity of class

² W. L. Warner, M. Meeker, and K. Eells, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949), p. 6.

³ "For a class, after all, is not something which is necessarily given independent of the forces which are operative in society; and I think we shall be much more likely to get a proper sense of proportion if we look first at the conditions conducive to conflict and then arrange our classifications accordingly than if we proceed in the reverse direction. For this reason I cannot believe that it is the most satisfactory starting point to assume that the only classification worth discussing is a vertical stratification." Lionel Robbins, *The Economic Basis of Class Conflict* (London: Macmillan, 1939), p. 6.

¹ An exception is F. D. Wormuth, *Class Struggle* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1946).

struggle: One of these is the degree of sharpness and rigidity of class distinctions—at one pole are rigid class lines that differentiate individuals in most of their major roles; at the other pole is a loose status system with blurred class lines, numerous independent criteria of status, and frequent mobility. The second variable comprises the attitudes of the lower orders toward status differentials and the degree of articulateness of these lower status groups. From these variables four crude type-situations can be constructed:

- A. Where class boundaries are distinct and firm and where it is widely accepted that each man should be "in his proper place," society is stable and class strife infrequent. The lower classes may revolt occasionally, but sporadic uprisings seldom change the status system. Struggle is not endemic; at most, a change of leaders ensues and the old conditions recur.
- B. Class revolutions of the Marxian type presuppose both a sharp demarcation of classes and an equalitarian ideology among the leaders of the lower orders. It is no accident that the best examples of this type are agrarian societies in which a militant fringe of the lower strata spearhead action while intellectuals provide the philosophy.

In the two other types, class lines are relatively vague.

- C. One type is not even approximated empirically since its conditions are mutually incompatible: loose class lines with a pervasive philosophy of inherited status.
- D. The fourth type—loose class lines and an equalitarian ideology—is represented by our own society. There are numerous, salient conflicts; but their intensity is comparatively low. Conflicts spread across class lines, and there is

continuous mutual accommodation between classes. Even as potential conflicts emerge, they are resolved by interpenetration of aspirations and policies.*

The social turmoils of recent decades have shown us that when a government becomes ostensibly the agent of a new class—as in Britain or Russia—most of the old problems and solutions remain, and many obsolete policies are resurrected. Laborers are disappointed at their meager success in influencing management, in gaining attention for the needs of ordinary workers, or in putting an end to poor housing or imperialism. Old status contrasts reappear in a new verbal guise, to fulfill the same basic functions as before. It is now the masses who must make the sacrifices to pay for the expanded benefits.

Changes in the functions of classes in the United States and the modest place of class conflict amidst the innumerable articulate clashes of group interests are readily traced to basic features of the social system. The forces enabling more people to share the "higher" elements of our culture and to influence public decisions have involved a more complex allocation of roles and a looser clustering of role complexes for persons in the several status ranks. Criteria of status are more numerous and more independent; interests are more varied and cut across the society on more axes than formerly. The emergence of these features of Western society testifies to the diminished power—or will, it matters not—of the former ruling groups.

Though mass unemployment aggravates tensions, literacy encourages effective expression of "proletarian" interests. The complexity of the econ-

* A more detailed working out of some of these relationships can be found in C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman, "A Typology of Societies," *Rural Sociology*, XVI (1951), pp. 255-271.

omy fosters a mass orientation, and the interests of profitmakers and the populace converge. In a dynamic, technological economy, the upper classes are impelled to make concessions as a means to their own profit. Even monopolies are pulled into this pattern. Indeed, one may ask seriously whether unions have had a major effect upon real wages. The contrast in these respects between France and the United States is noteworthy.

ORGANIZATIONAL ACTION AND PRESSURE GROUPS

A central feature of the contemporary social structure is innovation in techniques of organization and the multiplication of giant organizations that constitute loci of power. Even *ad hoc* organizations or short-lived interest groups reflect these innovations. At the same time, effective private and public agencies strive to hold pressure groups at arm's length. Many, if not most, of the aggressive organizations cut across class boundaries or serve only a faction within a class. The complexity of the "farm bloc" as a political phenomenon exemplifies these relationships.⁵

Dahl and Lindblom list four salient types of organizations in modern society: corporations, government bureaucracies, unions, and political parties.⁶ One might add farm organizations, churches, and the military. These groups are the great bones in the skeleton of contemporary society. Each group in striving to remain autonomous finds it imperative to take explicit account of the interests of more than one class (though not with equal weight). Desire as they may to con-

trol these organizations, particular classes or would-be agents of classes seldom succeed in doing so.

In the traditional conception of class struggle economic interest is the spring of political action. Yet in this country, at least, political alignments have a fluctuating and quite loose correlation with economic or other attributes of class. Political parties survive by avoiding outright class orientation.⁷ Insurgent parties are always being absorbed. A federal form of government and separation of powers give divergent interests scattered seats and levers of power. Many of the very people who are most aware of, and who know best how to protect, their own interests form the backbone of the corps of independent voters. Even where class and party are more tightly linked, the vote mechanism—like the market—drives the political managers to cultivate all groups.

The typical, and often the bitterest, politico-economic contests in complex societies are between organizations within classes or between pressure groups that more often than not speak for representatives of assorted classes. A prime anti-trust problem is collusion of workers with employers,⁸ and one wonders if Mr. Reuther worries most

⁷ David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process* (New York: Knopf, 1951), pp. 327-328.

⁸ Robbins, *op. cit.*, p. 28: "The objective clashes of interest which can be actually demonstrated to operate in the world of reality suggest a classification of social groups more related to the phenomena of the market . . . than any which rest on a general division between the propertied and the propertyless. In such a classification horizontal clashes of interest are at least as important as vertical."

Truman's definition of interest group implies a broader conception than the usual one (*op. cit.*, p. 33): "... any group that, on the basis of one or more shared attitudes makes certain claims upon other groups in the society for the establishment, maintenance, or enhancement of forms of behavior that are implied by the shared attitudes."

⁵ C. Arnold Anderson, "Agrarianism in Politics," in J. S. Roucek (ed.), *Twentieth Century Political Thought* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946), pp. 197-218.

⁶ Robert E. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom, *Politics, Economics and Welfare* (New York: Harper, 1953).

about the auto companies or his rival labor leaders. The stupendous expenditures by firms in struggles over market shares far outweigh the brazen attacks on labor. As they mobilize in the arena for national policy-making, pressure groups logroll and neutralize each other. The more that contending interests are represented by distinctive pressure groups, the more likely the legislator is to avoid lining up with any one and to vote his convictions or respond to the opinions of the unfiliated.

As Dahl and Lindblom point out, the intellectual setting for policy disputes has been transformed by the obsolescence of the hoary issues of socialism versus free enterprise, or government versus private action. These dilemmas have dissolved into a variegated array of intermediate choices as a result of the invention of more refined social instrumentalities.⁹ Policies and agencies multiply and intertwine. Emergence of conflict from such definite class orientations as exist is restrained by the multiplicity of halfway solutions and intersecting interests.

OVERLAPPING AND INTERRELATIONS OF CLASSES

Perhaps it is the very elusiveness of classes in this country that has led to a stress upon measuring differences between classes. We need equally to attend to the similarities, interpenetration, and cooperation among classes.

Heterogeneity of strata handicaps us in delineating nuclear class groups just as it inhibits the development of class consciousness. Adoption of multiple criteria for identifying membership in a given class yields more homogeneous groups; but the more numerous the attributes defining a class, the fewer the people who fit it. Unless large proportions are to be left outside any of the class categories thus de-

fined, either hybrid categories must be added as intermediate "strata" or a multidimensional structure of numerous, homogeneously defined groups must be admitted. Empirically, the associations between the criteria of class membership are moderate; correlations exceeding two-thirds of the squared variation are rare, and for attitudinal variables they run lower. The fact that several indexes must be combined in order to obtain a close prediction of class position testifies to the extensive overlapping among classes. As yet, no one has applied variance analysis to test the relative importance of *divergence within* as compared with *differences between* classes.

The bonds between individuals from different strata are as important as the clustering of bonds within classes. The incongruent individuals play a major role in the status system; they are not merely "errors" attenuating our correlations. There is a vast amount of mobility across class lines. Marriages often join members of different classes. Union leaders are entering the ranks of prestige organizations. Siblings spread into more than one sector of the status scale. As men migrate, their ties tend to be with impersonal groups where community snobbery is minimal. Migration also encourages one to act as if he had a higher background, and with the growing communication among groups this ability is more readily exploited. Meanwhile, the spread of schooling has intensified the contacts between persons from different backgrounds and diminished the importance of education as a class trait. More people have become acquainted with broad issues that override class, and participation in decision-making has widened. To the extent that men respond to the demands or the opportunities of the "big organizations," they must work and deal with members of various classes and estab-

⁹ Dahl and Lindblom, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-17.

lish alliances in several classes. A more penetrating analysis of the accumulated information on social participation would reveal the interconnections of strata and the effects of different kinds of affiliation upon class relationships.

A basic question is the degree of correlation between prestige ranking and the distribution of effective power in community action. Centers of power are not invariably located in the top-most class, and the relative weight of the different strata varies with the issue as well as with the time span covered.¹⁰ The franchise and civil rights place final power in the lower classes; the political weight of a class is in inverse relation to its average wealth.¹¹

WHAT PUBLIC OPINION POLLS SHOW

The polls reveal much agreement among the public upon certain basic ideologies. It is widely believed that opportunities to get ahead in the world are extensive and should not be hemmed in, even though such opportunities may contribute to marked economic inequalities. A wide area for legitimate competition and conflict is endorsed, along with insistence upon rules of the game and policies that mitigate insecurity. There is strong consensus upon nationalism, the worth of education, the necessity of a high employment level and government intervention to maintain it, and even acceptance of unions and progressive income taxation. There are also many issues, frequently of a more specific and limited nature, upon which sta-

tistically typical members of different classes disagree sharply.¹²

When class alignments do crystallize, the lower strata are commonly least insistent upon the means to their own protection. For example, the polls show that they are more willing to see the solution of problems in racism or censorship and less insistent upon preserving civil rights. In issues on which the views of experts can be compared with those of the public, the experts often are supported most strongly by the well-educated, the wealthy, and persons in the upper occupations, even when these privileged groups stand to lose most from the experts' recommendations.

By intensive study we could sort out core "attitude complexes" restricted to members of particular classes. It is clear, however, that few of the people within any class would exemplify fully these nuclear patterns. Most people hold combinations of views that are contradictory to any class-rationalized position because they share orientations transcending classes. Moreover, pressure groups or parties with effective power have such diverse membership or such mixtures of policies that definitive programs to serve one class seldom emerge.

If one scrutinizes poll results, looking for agreement as well as disagreement among strata, it is difficult to find issues manifesting unambiguous class alignment. Typically there is a large measure of accord between even the extreme classes. An inspection of several dozen polls showed that whether classes were defined by education, oc-

¹⁰ Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953). Unfortunately, while this book tells us a great deal about the presumptive powerholders in a city, it does not document the extent of their power.

¹¹ Truman, *op. cit.*, pp. 272, 281, 508-511.

¹² The divergences of class opinions are excellently portrayed in Richard Centers, "Social Class, Occupation, and Imputed Belief," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (1953), pp. 543-555; and Herman M. Case, "Guttman Scaling Applied to Centers' Conservatism-Radicalism Battery," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (1953), pp. 556-563.

cupation, or wealth, the median consensus was about 75 per cent.¹³

Even in Centers' comprehensive analysis—where subjective affiliation was combined with objective classification—on virtually no issue was there less than a majority consensus. On only one out of ten issues used by Benney and Geiss to demonstrate party and class coordination in England did less than a majority agree.¹⁴ Even where group identification is explicit—as on questions about unions asked of union members and factory executives—consensus is often marked. The least interclass agreement reported by Centers concerned highly selected attitudes when white-collar men with a college education were compared with manual workers having an elementary education, and even here agreement exceeded 40 per cent. If the polls reveal some correlation between class and political attitudes, they show also the looseness of such association.

TOWARD A FUNCTIONAL THEORY OF SOCIAL CLASS

The discussion to this point has cautioned against premature conclusions about the ubiquity of class struggle in advance of a study of the operations of classes in the arenas of markets and politics.

It is all too easy to overlook the routine and inconspicuous contributions of a class structure to social organization. The class system in any society orders human relationships, diminishes unpredictability, clarifies roles, eliminates a multitude of potential conflicts, and thereby provides indispensable security to individuals and groups. Stratification bars innumerable con-

flicts even when sharpening others. Equally fundamental, a status system provides incentives and rewards not only for assuming those responsibilities most essential to the society, but also for performing humble as well as honored tasks in a manner compatible with dominant value orientations. Role delegation and conformity to societal norms are linked with status relationships. Even in our society, where criteria of status are multiple and vary endlessly with changing situations, mutually supporting prestige attributes facilitate the implementation of basic functions.

"Snobbery" itself is not wholly dysfunctional. It enhances and preserves the corporate, distinctive character of the leading classes. Exclusiveness prevents too rapid a turnover of personnel by requiring that aspirants must meet the stricter standards of the more elevated stations. Snobbery satisfies a form of vanity, thereby making less necessary a reliance upon unequal material rewards. Class pride, at whatever level, nourishes the values distinctive of a class and transmits useful roles of many kinds—the Eton stamp or pride of craft. Classes that are functional must be distinct; by reinforcing distinctiveness, snobbery supports these functions.

At the same time each class acts as a model for others. This function of a class system is more important in a mobile society where there is incessant communication among classes. Diffusion of new culture traits normally proceeds down the social scale from an upper group that is sufficiently conspicuous and respected to evoke imitation. Where educational, economic, or political factors stimulate both mobility and imitation, the existence of recognized classes motivates persons to seek more important social roles and to win higher prestige by adopting "higher" cultural traits.

¹³ If one class votes 20 per cent in favor of a position and the other class votes 20 per cent against it, 40 per cent could be paired—i.e., there is 40 per cent agreement.

¹⁴ M. Benney and P. Geiss, "Social Class and Politics in Greenwich," *British Journal of Sociology*, I (1951), pp. 321-322.

The most adequate perspective from which to assess class functions is to view classes as instrumentalities of historical change. Yet it would be difficult to cite a single sociological monograph dealing with the historical function of a social class. Looking into the past, one readily discerns classes at all status levels that have given birth to new societal values and processes as an outgrowth of their strivings. Success in serving their own "selfish" purposes was a major factor in what we now acknowledge to have been progress. Opposition between classes limits the pace of change at some times and accelerates it at others. The day-to-day contentions among classes—short of outright strife—may have greater effect than dramatic revolutions.

In English history, we recall, successive strata have taken their places in public life. Each transition expressed a creative surge from below, with accommodative adjustment and even assistance from above. With each shift in the locus of power the previously dominant stratum acquired a modified role. In each interlude there was a creative performance by the upper strata. Thus, we credit the English aristocracy with fostering the conception of public service as a duty and establishing the ideal of official integrity. Merchant adventurers in the Elizabethan period and manufacturers of a later day played a less moralistic but equally serviceable role. Underlying the waxing and waning of class struggle, the broad patterns of national life persisted.

The malpractices of the businessman have provided a perennial theme for commentators on American life. Yet the businessman has been a prime agent in the creation of American culture and social organization. As agent of the technological market economy, he wrought a revolution in both material aspects of life and ideologies, as

well as in his own social position. His role is not adequately comprehended by evaluating his morals. The "piracy" of a Rockefeller had some constructive outcomes worthy of comparison with the operations of the genteel Carnegie. Indeed those rascals who evaded the customs of the trade and the spirit of the law were often the agents of new patterns of enterprise now boasted of as great American innovations.¹⁵ This they did partly by establishing new methods and partly by evoking retaliatory policies on both public and private fronts. What Edwin F. Gay called "disruptive innovating energy" has exerted a powerful influence in Western societies.

To predict the demise of the middle classes appears less prescient today than it did a generation or two ago. The small businessman, who never made much money, was one bulwark of radical liberalism. He is perhaps fading out, but other sectors of the middle class have expanded both objectively and subjectively. Though this newer central stratum may possess an extreme preoccupation with security, it has also worked for change. It has sent forth men of ambition who rose to creative leadership, especially in technical and humanistic spheres: the artisan-technicians and intellectuals who did so much to create both the conditions for modern life and the substance of that life. The middle class preserved an ethic which eulogizes work—the absence of which in many countries so inhibits the development or adoption of improved technology. Our public school system was the creation of the middle class. The civil rights secured in the struggles of the rising business class in their own be-

¹⁵ An earlier article by the present writer mapped the confining rules against innovative as well as criminal business practices: "Sociological Elements in Economic Restrictionism," *American Sociological Review*, IX (1944), pp. 345-358.

half were not abrogated when the lower classes challenged "their betters."

A class transforms itself as it transforms society. The change in the character of the entrepreneur, from capitalist to manager and increasingly to professional, has been documented. Broader conceptions of the businessman's role in society are emerging rapidly, involving less segregation of roles than in the period of "robber barons." This new ideology is both an adaptation to the rise of new groups to power and an expression of a new kind of leadership within the upper ranks. Meanwhile the labor leader is becoming an entrepreneurial consultant for the firms with which he bargains, and professionalization of union bureaucracies proceeds apace.

Businessmen who perceived how they could mobilize half-starved farmers or immigrants to produce a new industry undeniably aroused class hatreds.¹⁸ They were also creating a

dynamic system and a new kind of working man who could carry out his growing share of the tasks in a more complex society—and rise to challenge his masters. Articulation of class interests is itself a force making for accommodation between those interests. As in any conflict, the spokesmen for classes sharpen the issues and define the terms of adjustment, thereby creating a new social organization.

The theme of this paper has been the need for a broader functional approach to stratification research. It has been argued that the bulk of sociological writing concerning social class evinces one or more defects tending to conceal the role of classes in the total social system. A dynamic and functional view is needed as a supplement to current research programs. Even more important, such a broader approach would stimulate redefinitions of the problem and the testing of neglected hypotheses. If there are classes, and not merely status distributions, these classes are real groups with definitive norms, patterns of activities, and significant consequences for each other and the total society.

¹⁸ As C. Murchison said of the early southern cotton-mill owner: "He became a dispenser of work to hungry recipients who came clamoring from the hovels of cove and cotton field. He provided the community with a payroll. He saw a village spring up and thrive. He brought a new economic life of money and machines to replace barter and the hoe; food and society

to replace hunger and isolation . . ."; in W. T. Couch (ed.), *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 113.

DISORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN RURAL INDONESIA

by Justus M. van der Kroeff

ABSTRACT

Social change in Indonesian rural society is primarily the result of two simultaneous processes: (1) the impact of Islamization and Christianization, and (2) the influence of Western secularism. Islam has the tendency to destroy much of the traditional freedom and status of women in rural society, to encourage paternalism in family life and interpersonal relations, and to attenuate traditional communal ties. Sometimes Islamic influence has an individualizing effect on the position of the members of communal societies. Christianity is both destructive and constructive. On the one hand it may weaken traditional social relations—e.g., the *connubium*—and on the other it may liberate the individual from communal bonds and give him a chance to develop his own potentialities. Western secularism, partially directed by the new national bureaucracy, has created new political and social values. Its impact has tended to create a dualism in the rural society, expressed in the simultaneous existence of traditional institutions of political authority and of national secular power. Economically and socially, secularism has dislodged the individual from his ancient protective order and thus has created the characteristics of modern mass society. The Indonesian government has called into existence several agencies to reconstruct rural society upon a modern nationalistic basis, essentially collectivist in character.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to describe certain patterns of non-autochthonous influences in Indonesian village society which continue to cause structural alterations and changes in interpersonal relationships. In the course of time, rural Indonesia has often exhibited a remarkable strength in resisting such influences. For example, the religiously oriented system of various rural social levels, interpersonal relations, *connubium*, and social and economic co-operation was not basically affected by Hindu-Indian influences in the first twelve centuries of our era. Today, however, social change is evident everywhere. Attention needs first of all to be paid to the disruptive influences of Islam and Christianity in rural society. Next, some patterns of Western secular influence should be considered. And finally a word should be said about the various adjustments and efforts at rural reorganization which the

national Indonesian government has been making.

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY

Two world religions, Islam and Christianity, have led a devastating attack on traditional rural society. Superimposed on indigenous folkways, their influence is not merely historic: Islamization and Christian cultural influences continue to exert strong pressure today. The traditional Indonesian village, with its subsistence production, is a closed and self-sufficient society, having its own laws, social classes, and religious practices. These involve recognition of the sacred connection between the land, the villagers, and the crops they cultivated, and the respect due the group of elders. Beyond the village level there are the regional communities (linked or not with indigenous principalities) and the intervillage federations, often with their own headmen and their own rights. Social classes are carefully delimited, finding expression in rights of ownership or

†Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich.

disposal over the village lands, in the levying of tribute, and in the competence to settle all sorts of disputes.¹

By the sixteenth century, and perhaps earlier, there began an adoption of Islam at the various court circles, motivated primarily by political considerations. Islam slowly spread from the courts and cities to the rural areas, which in some instances adopted the faith only casually. But few regions in rural Indonesia today are without its continuous influence; Islam has become a matter of nationality for the Indonesian even in the villages, and with this adherence has come respect for the Muslim schoolmen (*kiaji*) or Mosque officials (*pengulu*). But with it, too, has come disorganization and structural change.

It has been customary to describe the impact of Islam on Indonesian society in terms of a "democratizing" influence. The equality of all believers before God in Islam, so it is argued, contrasted sharply with the eschatological divisions and class distinctions in Hindu-Javanese cosmology and society.² In its general sense, this contention is in error. For, in the first place, it fails to consider that Islam adversely affected the status of woman in rural Indonesian society; and, in the second place, it fails to give sufficient weight to the fact that Islamization created an important new social elite—namely, the groups of *kiaji*s and *pengulus*—who in their work severely threatened the status of the communal headmen and aristocracy.

It may be regarded as axiomatic that "Islamization has diminished the legal position of the Indonesian woman in

comparison with that under traditional law."³ The status of woman in this traditional indigenous law, usually called *adat*, is always secure and frequently high. Her rights in courtship and the connubium, in trade, in inheriting and transmitting property, and so on, are well defined in most Indonesian societies.⁴ Though family pressure or the normative prerogatives of village or kin group frequently supersede her wishes, it must be remembered that this traditionally holds true also for the individual male; and, furthermore, that her actual position in everyday life does not always coincide with the juridical precepts of the *adat*. Even in a patrilineally organized society, like that of the Bataks, for example, woman's position may be regarded as influential, sometimes even as decisive: "Within the four walls of the house it is the woman who commands."⁵

It would be impossible to enumerate all aspects of Islamic law which have threatened the traditional position of the Indonesian woman. One example is the matter of inheritance law. According to Shafi'ite Islamic precepts, which apply to Indonesian Muslims, the son of the deceased should inherit twice the amount of the daughter; but in not a few areas, such as certain parts of Java, the *adat* entitles the daughter to the same amount as the son. Division by the spouses of standing property acquired in marriage is demanded by many *adat* codes, but Islamic law does not recognize com-

¹ V. Korn, "Het Indonesische dorp," in W. van Helsdingen and H. Hoogenberk (eds.), *Daar Werd Wat Groots Verricht: Nederlandsch-Indië in de Twintigste Eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1941), pp. 114-125.

² W. F. Wertheim, *Effects of Western Civilization on Indonesian Society* (New York, 1950), pp. 50-51.

³ Masdoelhak Namonangan Nasoetion, *gelar Soetan Oloan, De Plaats van de Vrouw in de Bataksche Maatschappij* (Utrecht, 1943), *stelling 7*. (Hereafter cited as Nasoetion.)

⁴ E. A. Boerenbeker, *De Vrouw in het Indonesische Adatrecht* (The Hague, 1931), pp. 3-25, 29-41, 42-44, 88-91, and 130; Hazairin, *De Redjang; De Volksordering, het Verwantschaps-, Huwelijks- en Erfrecht* (Bandung, 1936), pp. 132, 145.

⁵ Nasoetion, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

munity of property in marriage, to the detriment of the woman.⁶ Then there is the matter of divorce law.⁷ In many Indonesian societies, the woman has a perfect right under the *adat* to take the initiative in a divorce. Among the Batak, for example, she can do so on such grounds as unreasonable jealousy on the part of her husband, or his impotence, affliction with an incurable disease, or repeated violation of the *adat*.⁸ Islamic law now has the effect of (1) reducing though not entirely obliterating the woman's initiative rights, (2) increasing the actual possibilities for divorce, mostly on the husband's complaint, (3) giving the husband far greater freedom than the wife, and (4) creating the possibility of divorce without intervention from the authorities—especially from the *adat* chiefs whose regulatory and protective powers are menaced or destroyed, unless respected by the civil officials of the state. While it is true that the woman may take the initiative in declaring that conditions of her repudiation by her husband have been met under Islamic procedure, such a divorce is generally "Indonesian in character" and "permissibility of ini-

tiation of divorce action by a woman rests in *adat* law."⁹

While the status of woman may still be protected by *adat* as well as by modernistic trends within Islam itself, in the relationships between the sexes before marriage the spread of Islam has often succeeded in completely nullifying woman's traditional freedoms. A good example is the institution of *adat budjang gadis* ("the rules of conduct of young men and women") in southern Sumatra. In this area, and particularly, in the hinterlands of Palembang and Bengkulu, village society recognized the existence at one time of an intricate and unique complex of regulations governing the behavior and the social contacts of young men (*budjang*) and young marriageable women (*gadis*). "An ancient civilization and awareness of human dignity spoke from these regulations," according to one student.¹⁰ The young folk in these regions constituted in effect a special level of society, having their own privileges and duties and their own code of ethics in courtship practices. They elected their own leaders. One such leader, called *pasirah budjang*, was a sort of business manager, calling on the *budjang* under him for common work parties and having the power to levy fines payable in kind on the negligent. An identical relationship existed between the *pasirah gadis* and her young *gadis*. The main purpose of these organizations, however, was to regulate the manners and attitude to be observed on the numerous occasions that members of both sexes were thrown into each other's company. The *adat budjang gadis* was

⁶ Boerenbeker, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-167. Another consequence of Muslim inheritance law is gradual land fragmentation, as is conspicuously the case in Pakistan. Muslim law requires apportionment of the land, but under communal *adat* the village usually resumes control of the whole plot of land after death, preventing fragmentation.

⁷ S. R. Boomgaard, *De rechtstoestand van de getrouwde vrouw volgens het adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1926), pp. 75-77. It should be noted that the rights of woman depend on the legal structure of her society. Under patriliney her rights are fewer than under matriliney or under a parental legal structure. Cf. Boerenbeker, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.

⁸ Nasoetion, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57. See also H. Chabot, *Verwantschap, Stand en Sexe in Zuid Celebes* (Groningen, 1950), p. 200-205.

⁹ B. Ter Haar, *Adat Law in Indonesia* (New York, 1948), pp. 182-184. Conversely, Christian influences reduce the possibility of divorce, call for government intervention in divorce, and equalize husband and wife in marriage.

¹⁰ J. Prins, *Adat en Islamietische Plichtenleer in Indonesië* (The Hague, 1950), p. 53.

particularly applicable during common religious feasts staged at the village meeting hall (*balai dusun*), (which was cleaned and maintained by the young people) during the many common musical, recitation, and dancing events, and the informal rhyming and riddle-solving parties. In this manner, community-approved contacts between the sexes took place and they learned to know each other, while propriety was always observed and definite rules prohibited unlawful physical contact or nudity. The *adat budjang gadis* was also operative during communal working efforts, such as sowing and harvesting, and here, too, proper deportment was to be observed, on pains of having to pay fines and suffering group disapproval. The spread of Islam in this area rang the death knell for this institution and destroyed the ancient patterns of courtship, as well as the freedom of the young women in them. One no longer encounters *pasirah gadis*, for Islamic orthodoxy has frowned on such a degree of group autonomy for young marriageable women. Public dancing and singing has similarly declined, and for the same reasons. In general, the free status of women diminished in proportion that paternal control, sanctioned by Islam, took its place.

How decisively Islam can alter the very foundations of rural society is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than among another important Sumatran group, the Minangkabau. Most observers have seen this society primarily as matrilineally structured; but it is evident from a recent investigation that traces of father right abound, and that patriliney in Minangkabau is as ancient an institution as matriliney. The decline of patriliney here is due to the corroding influence of Islam and the tensions that have arisen between *adat* patterns and Muslim law. As Islam gained a foothold and slowly spread, more and more sa-

cred and religious matters were considered to be the domain of this faith, and these matters tended to be withdrawn from the ancient *adat* institutions which heretofore had regulated them. The result was that the *adat* came to concern itself almost exclusively with social and political affairs in Minangkabau society, while the sacred matters were drawn into the orbit of Muslim religious leaders. This curious dichotomy had a far-reaching social consequence; for in the original Minangkabau structure the patrilineal element was closely bound up with the magico-religious functions and institutions of society. As the latter dwindled under the impact of Islam, so did the role and status of patriliney, although it assumed some significance in Muslim context.¹¹ The net result was that the matrilineal element came unduly to the fore, confusing many students of this society as to its original structure. But the struggle between *adat* and Islam continues in the Minangkabau. Minangkabau affords a prime example of a society where Islam, far from having socially democratizing influence, produced a new stratification by calling into existence a new social elite, the group of Muslim schoolmen, judges, and religious officials, whose activities (often linked with nationalistic and communistic programs) created profound social disturbances in the rural community.

In a sense, too, it may be said that Islam has had an individualizing effect on the village society and its members. The "higher" responsibility which Islam demands is personal and related to Allah; it is not collective, as in the village *adat*, nor related to the deified village ancestors as founders of the particular village community. As Hazzairin has pointed out, the more Muslim law is successful in its attack on the

¹¹ P. E. de Josselin de Jong, *Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan: Socio-Political Structure in Indonesia* (The Hague, 1952), p. 110.

adat, the more the old feeling of being ashamed over possible breaches of *adat* disappears "under the impact of a growing sense of individualism."¹² How incisive Islam, as a "vanguard of individualism," can be in its attack on the patterns of village communalism is made clear by an example from southern Tapanuli, Sumatra. Here Muslim converts have the tendency to leave their own community and to settle elsewhere in villages of their own, with a resulting disintegration of the mother community and the emergence of new intercommunal tensions. And among the Pasemah of South Sumatra, principles of clan exogamy, indispensable to the traditional social structure, have virtually disappeared as a result of a gradual Islamization in recent times. A similar process is at work among the Redjang, where the exogamous lineage (*megeo*) has declined due to endogamy sanctioned by Islam.¹³

Not only Islam, but Christianity as well, has brought changes in the structure of rural society, and often these have sapped the vitality of the village community. A good example is the impact of missionary work over the years on the village society of Lewotobi, on East Flores. Originally Lewotobi society was based on a circulating connubium, involving payment of bride price, between various patrilineal clan units (here called *wuns*). The *wuns* are divided into three groups, among which the connubium is regulated. The first group now contains the *wun* Witi (goat) and some smaller *wuns*. The second comprises three *wuns*—Mukin (beet root), Uran (rain), and Soge. The third group has only a few small *wuns* at present. Women of the first

group marry men in the second group; women of the second group marry men from the third; and women from the third marry men from the first group of *wuns*. Marriage between members of *wuns* belonging to the same group is prohibited. The *wuns* of the second group (Mukin, Uran, and Soge) originally occupied a central and commanding position in society, but now the *wun* Witi is the most populous and the richest. The clans are patrilineal, and the connubium involves an important exchange relationship in various goods between women-delivering and women-receiving clans, as is common in a great many Indonesian societies.

It so happens that East Flores is situated directly opposite the island of Solor, long a center of Portuguese Jesuit missionaries whose influence was felt early on Lewotobi. These missionaries attacked the principle of bride-price marriage, seeing in it an unholy "sale" of the woman to her husband. Under their influence, bride-price payments declined; but, since society was patrilineally structured, a way had to be found to preserve a measure of traditional father right. The result was the growth of suitor-service marriage (*geleka*) which has become the chief marriage form in Lewotobi, though the traditional bride-price marriage form is still preferred as a matter of tradition. Under suitor service the marriage becomes matrilineal—the husband goes to live with his wife's parents and works for them in lieu of payment of the bride price. Even if the man later starts a household of his own, his service obligation to his wife's family does not disappear, and only very rarely is the substitute bride price considered "paid" by his labors. The husband remains a member of his own kin group, but his children belong to the mother's family so long as the husband is unable to establish a home of his own, which happens very frequently. The result of the spread of *geleka*

¹² Hazairin, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹³ Prins, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 21, 25-26. See also p. 20: "The patrilineal system of father right encounters strong Islamic objections if it is accompanied by clan exogamy; the matrilineal system of mother right is in principle condemned."

was that young men were withdrawn from participation in the communal affairs of their own clan by having to live with their wife's family, with the further danger that their descendants would not belong to their clans either. Also the *geleka* interrupted the exchanges of goods between the bride-giving and the bride-receiving clan, with the result that some clans were steadily impoverished and were unable to accumulate sufficient goods to pay the bride price at all, even if this had been permitted. This meant in turn a perpetuation of suitor service and a lengthening of the time before the husband could set up his own dwelling, which would make his children part of his own clan.

In order to get out of this impasse, the central *wuns* (Mukin, Uran, and Soge) began to tamper with the exogamy regulations, with disastrous consequences. Mukin permitted clan endogamy, which resulted in degeneration, feeble-mindedness, and sexual abnormality on an incredibly large scale. Soge has now virtually died out. Uran has greatly declined in numbers and wealth, and may also be regarded as threatened with extinction. With the destruction of the three central *wuns* has come a complete collapse of the magico-religious basis of Lewotobi village society and its cultic manifestations, and thus a steady process of disorganization. The case of Lewotobi is all the more noteworthy because a neighboring village society, Lewoloba, with a similar social structure, has largely kept its cohesiveness and vitality based on clan exogamy—probably because it was located outside the influence of early missionary activity. Both the colonial government and the missions at one time opposed the institution of the bride price; in recent years they altered their position, but

as the case of Lewotobi shows, the damage had already been done.¹⁴

Christian missionary influence need not always be solely destructive, however. Sometimes it breaks down the traditional communal structure, but in so doing releases dynamic forces locked within. A case in point is the Batak society of Sumatra. One major dynamic element within traditional Batak society is the forming of new *hutas* (villages), carried on by the *huta* founder with the assistance of resident clan units in the old *huta*. The *huta* founder has been well compared with the Schumpeterian entrepreneur, who risks his well-being and the approval of the community to push through a new combination of socio-economic factors, which, if successful, brings him wealth but especially social prestige. It has been shown that this dynamic "entrepreneurial" element in Batak society came fully on its own as a consequence of Christian missionary activity, and had the effect of loosening the old clan ties and communal bonds, thus permitting the individual to develop his own potentials. This process was facilitated by the relative absence of a developed aristocracy in Batak society. The result was a repudiation of traditional values; migration to the coast by large numbers of Bataks; a sudden burst of new economic enterprises on a private, capitalistic basis; a strong demand for education and social welfare services by Batak leaders; and the advent of a new and aggressively materialistic system of values, something which the missions had not bargained for. While it is true that the self-contained Batak community declined, the new individualism brought by the missions undoubtedly set free the forces of a different community development, in which traditional clan ties, preservation of ex-

¹⁴ C. Ouwehand, "Aantekeningen over volksordening en grondenrecht op Oost-Flores," *Indonesië*, IV (1950), pp. 54-71.

tended lineages, and respect for *adat* and old-fashioned headmen had little place. Batak society today exhibits a vigorous growth—although this should not be taken to mean that all or even most Bataks are Christians, nor that the social *adat* has completely disappeared. Rather, it shows that a rural society in Indonesia may have its own autochthonous sources of growth, which through foreign influence are given a chance to develop.¹⁵

Finally, a word needs to be said about the media of social change. Changes resulting from Islamic influence are far more numerous in rural Indonesia than are those from Christian influence. Virtually every village or regional community has one or more Muslim schoolmen or marriage performers, and their influence on the basis of face-to-face relationships with the villagers is buttressed by the prestige of Islam as a cultural ideal and a source of social status. Some villagers are more completely under their sway than others, but most Indonesians regard themselves as Muslims and willingly seek the *kiaji*'s guidance. Yet the typical Indonesian village is by no means completely Islamized; traditional religious and social precepts are retained or blended with Islamic law. The question whether the average Indonesian is Moslem only by name has long been moot, and notwithstanding the protests of such scholars as Snouck Hurgronje,¹⁶ it is perhaps better to speak of Islam in rural Indonesia as "folk Islam." Generally the villager lives uneasily between two systems of values, those of the *adat* and those of Islam; frequently he succeeds in reconciling them, but then again the very structure of his society often makes

such a reconciliation difficult. For example, there is the plural composition of the village population in West Kalimantan (Borneo), where the indigenous Daya population still clings to its *adat*, while among them live Islamized Javanese and Malaysians. Contacts between the two groups appear to occur without noticeable friction, perhaps due to another anomaly in this society: the Daya *radjas* here are Muslims, their subjects are not, and interaction between the two occurs through the *adat* chiefs and village headmen who are not Muslims either.¹⁷ Muslim influence undoubtedly penetrates into Daya society, but assimilation between Muslims and non-Muslims does not appear to be very great. Another example is Bali, with its Christian minority in the midst of a highly sensitive religious village society. Friction between *adat* Balinese and Christians is frequent, and Christian converts often have been forced out of the village community and have seen their property confiscated.¹⁸

RESULTS OF WESTERN INFLUENCE

Towns and cities are only one channel of Western secular influences in Indonesian rural society, and not necessarily the most important one. Yet, as a medium of cultural change, they have been significant in Indonesia since the beginning of the Hindu-Indian contacts. Often the impact of the town on village life in its immediate vicinity has been devastating. This is the case in the village society of Pisangan in the region of Pasar Minggu, some distance south of the city of Djakarta. The inhabitants of this community have long had contacts with the city, which is the chief market for the fruits of their garden cultivation. The Pasar

¹⁵ A. J. van Zanen, *Voorwaarden voor maatschappelijke ontwikkeling in het centrale Batakland* (Leyden, 1934), esp. chap. 3.

¹⁶ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften* (Leyden-Leipzig, 1923-1927), IV, pp. 23-24.

¹⁷ F. H. van Naerssen, "Een streekonderzoek in West Borneo," *Indonesië*, V (1951), pp. 133-136.

¹⁸ Cf. J. Swellengrebel, *Kerk en Tempel op Bali* (The Hague, 1948), pp. 99-105.

Mingguese is an inveterate traveler; he brings his products as far as South Sumatra. The chief characteristic of this society is its "cultural poverty." Myths, legends, and rituals are gone; the crisis ceremonies of birth, marriage, and death have been reduced to a minimum; original *adat* institutions hardly exist; the dialect is a heterogeneous mixture of Malay, Sundanese, Dutch, Chinese, and other words. There is no folk art left, though sometimes a few Sundanese folksongs are heard and a primitive *wayang* (shadow play) is performed; but cultural and social life have completely disintegrated.¹⁹

Because of unresolved tensions in a given rural society, the importance of the nearby town may increase in the life of the villager. An example is the relationship between the Sadan-Toradjas and the city of Makassar in southern Sulawesi (Celebes). In the past few decades, Toradjas have migrated by the thousands to Makassar. Perhaps the most important reason for this migration is the fact that—probably due to the peace brought in the modern Colonial period—population pressure on the limited strip of fertile soil in the Sadan region has become very great. Land has been pawned away also, in order to obtain cash for the purchase of cattle required in the death cultus. Hence, a growing concentration of land in the hands of the few has come about, with the result that the landless seek a new existence in the city. Furthermore, mission education has created a growing class of embryo intellectuals, who are unwilling to work on the land once they have completed their education. They too migrate to Makassar to seek work as clerks and petty officials. The continuous draining process by Makassar

on the surrounding countryside is perhaps the chief disorganizing element now in Sadan Toradja society.²⁰

Attainment of independence has intensified secular influences, also. The national revolution—with its propagation of the principles of political liberty, democracy, social equality, and educational development—has made itself felt all over the archipelago, and the revolutionary ideals are personified by the new westernized, urban-trained, semi-intellectual bureaucracy whose representatives appear in every corner of the village society. It is, then, not merely in the vicinity of towns that revolutionary influence is particularly manifest. The clash between these revolutionary ideals, essentially Western in nature, and the specific *adat* of a given village community provides the setting of still another process of social change. An example is the island of Timor in East Indonesia since the Second World War. Here has arisen a typical duality in the structure of political and social control. On the one hand, there are the traditional semi-autonomous rulers, supported by village headmen and regional chiefs. On the other hand, there are the elected delegates to the regional council of the island, who have been chosen by the populace since 1946. Though *adat* chiefs participated in the election, it is significant that none became a delegate to the council, whose members invariably are school teachers, civil servants, and missionaries. Three regional communities in north-central Timor even chose as their "popular representative" a Dutch-Catholic priest. It is safe to assume that the council represents in the village mind the forum of modern, Western ideas in keeping with the fervor of national development, and as such

¹⁹ Takdir Alisjahbana, "De botsing van Oost en West," in G. van der Kolff (ed.), *Sticusa Jaarboek 1950* (Amsterdam, 1950), pp. 48-60.

²⁰ H. J. Heeren, "De trek der Toradja's naar Makassar," in G. van der Kolff (ed.), *Sticusa Jaarboek 1952* (Amsterdam, 1952), pp. 52-63.

its members have come to represent a new elite in Timorese rural society. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that the *adat* chiefs and rulers lost their importance. On the contrary, while more modern villagers felt free to criticize the ruler, no one attacked the institution of the *radja* as such; neither were such attacks made by the several modern political parties on the island. The popular attitude toward the traditional headmen is also well illustrated by the services rendered freely to them. These services are compulsory and there is little or no compensation for them. When it was proposed to substitute a small money tax for these services which are levied on virtually every male head of the population, both the chiefs and the people resisted, preferring the old system. There was no economic consideration involved in this refusal; it was rather an expression of a sense of deep-rooted tradition, "which regarded this duty toward the *adat* chief as a bond which should not be broken, lest the relationship toward the chief would become so completely different that the whole of society would be overturned."²¹

How strong traditional respect for *adat* nobility and chiefs can be is also illustrated by Makassarese society in southern Sulawesi, a region long subject to secular influences. In all manner of social contacts as well as in political life, the traditional aristocracy (*karaeng*) still enjoys special privileges. During a public auction, a bidder who is a commoner will hold his tongue if he sees that a *karaeng* is bidding on the same article as he, or the

commoner may ask another *karaeng* to bid for him in such a case. Soccer has become popular among the Makassarese, but there is no equality among the players if one or more of them is a *karaeng*. The opposing team hesitates to attack if a *karaeng* has the ball; and if two players collide in the match, and one of them is a *karaeng*, the other will roll over and over and will get up only very slowly to create clearly the impression that in the collision it was not the *karaeng* but the commoner who was the loser. When Eastern Indonesia became an autonomous state, the Makassarese *Nadjamuddin* became premier. It was not possible for him to govern in a modern parliamentary manner, however; the traditional power structure based on chiefs and lineages as well as ethnic groups interfered with that, and thus "Nadjamuddin governed via his relatives and followers who were officials of the ministries. According to the Makassarese view they were therefore the top social class."²² Traditional power structures are thus in the popular mind at variance with Western democratic procedures.

This brings us to the heart of an important conflict in the process of secular social change. The idea of elected government on a national scale may be regarded as alien to traditional Indonesian rural mentality. It has often been suggested that the village society is a "democracy," but this contention is open to serious question. Village chiefs are by no means always democratically elected; regional *adat* chiefs, the former aristocracy and rulers, held patrimonial power that was based on the sacred socio-religious integration of rural organization; it would be a serious error to see "democracy" at work in the village. As one student has put it:²³

²² Chabot, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-135.

²³ Korn, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

²¹ J. D. Versluys, "Maatschappelijke vernieuwing op Timor?" *Indonesië*, III (1949-1950), pp. 130-150 and 201-224. It is to be noted that since Versluys made these observations the authority of the aristocracy and in particular of the *radjas* has been administratively abridged by the Indonesian Republic.

Unless higher authority disturbingly intervenes, the village officials are not appointed, neither are they elected by the individual choice of their fellows... the communal character of society allows them to grow into their functions and their recognition by the group of associates is the traditional, collective act of sanctification and consecration.

To the villager, "representative government" traditionally means recognition not of an official elected by him, but of a single, perpetual bearer of religiously sanctioned authority, whose very person does not symbolize but is the hallowed stability of the social order and whose existence is indispensable to the magico-religious continuation of the social system as it was created by the first ancestors. The cultic, social, and political functions of village society are traditionally one, and "in this pure form of undifferentiated community existence belongs the situation that *always the same group of headmen exercises all functions of leadership* . . ."²⁴ Increasingly since the end of the Second World War this undifferentiated form of leadership has declined; "commoners" are coming to the fore, either by act of state (the new bureaucracy) or because of a newly acquired sense of "national" responsibility (election by semi-intellectual elements). But as their number increases, the traditional, integrated, social order declines and begins to assume a more differentiated aspect. The Western secularity of the revolution thus creates in the village society a double system of authority—one identified with the old order, the other with the new. The tensions and unrest this creates are all a matter of record and, as the narrow waistcoat of bureaucratic administrative uniformity is readied further, the peasant population, according to an Indonesian leader, asks:

"When will our freedom come to an end?"²⁵

Secular influences are also operative in the economic life of rural Indonesian society. Since the middle of the previous century the Indonesian village has gradually been brought within the orbit of a Western exchange economy; periodic wage labor became a common feature as the subsistence basis of production declined. This process, too, created a curious dichotomy. Here only some sociological consequences of economic disorganization will be noted.

The penetration of Western economic practices, in conjunction with other secular influences, has the effect of causing the economic field to be disembedded from its social setting and of making it a self-regulating system based on an extra-village market. This process is a repetition of what has happened in Europe since the Industrial Revolution, and the characteristics of the process in Europe, as described by Polanyi, are—with some reservations—also applicable to rural Indonesian economic life. The crucial step in this transformation is that land and labor are made into commodities, that is, they come to be treated "as if produced for sale." Next comes the principle of a market price for labor and a similar price for land; the world of motivation is divided between a "material" and an "idealistic" segment, and hunger and gain are "enthroned" as economic motives, to use Polanyi's expression.²⁶ One consequence of all this is that economic relationships which were once embedded in social relationships are freed—that they begin to operate independently and to set

²⁴ J. Prins, "Hedendaagse Indonesische politiek en de toekomst van het Indonesische Adatrecht," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde* (Jubileum nummer, 1951), p. 278.

²⁵ Karl Polanyi, "Our Obsolete Market Mentality," *Commentary* (Feb., 1947), pp. 109-117; and his *The Great Transformation* (New York, 1946).

²⁴ R. van Dijk, *Samenleving en Adatrechtsvorming* (The Hague, 1948), p. 67. (Author's italics.)

the norms for other aspects of human behavior. Traditional social wants become economic wants, and social man becomes economic man.

Village control and the support of the extended family unit decline or disappear and with them the economic protection they afforded to its members. Authority moves from the diffuse to the specific—i.e., the villager as producer is no longer subject to undifferentiated authority of his traditional chiefs but now is under the temporary and specific control of his foreman, manager, or employer.²⁷ This presupposes a steady growth of permanent employment outside the village. The traditional power structure comes to be severely threatened by the emergence of a new moneyed or entrepreneurial elite. This, in turn, produces new social roles.²⁸ The acquisition of desirable skills in order to participate profitably in the new economic process becomes a primary social goal, calling into existence new symbols and expressions of group approval. This tendency is in line with the positivistic orientation in Indonesian educational demands, which have been analyzed elsewhere by the writer.²⁹

In this transformation, traditional ideals and practices of subsistence production will remain for a long time in more isolated areas. By these practices are meant such matters as unwillingness to make use of higher prices for one's products, persistent search for leisure once limited requirements have been met, and resistance to improved techniques of production. Economic development thus tends to become uneven if left to itself, and the dichotomy

between village economy and modern industrial economy becomes greater. This also leads to additional tension between traditional and modern institutions of authority.

Above all, the impact of Western economic practices tends to emphasize the primary family as the producing-consuming entity, at the expense of the kin group or village collectivity. It splinters the group into fragments of a developing mass society, in which the lineage or territorial community is no longer of importance. Some modern trends in Minangkabau furnish an example. Here, in a society where mother right is most prominent, there is a decided tendency toward closer relationships between the members of the primary family, especially between father and son. The latter's education has come to be regarded more as the task of the father than of the matrilineal relatives. Communal housing has declined for both marriage partners, and husband and wife with their children tend more and more to have a house of their own. Property regulations regarding the lineage are diminishing in importance, and it would seem that the property-owning function of the primary family unit has increased accordingly.³⁰

Indonesia is now subject to a continuous process of social and cultural leveling, facilitated by the rapid decline of its traditional elite and by the broadening mood of social egalitarianism engendered by the revolution. The village as a key agency of traditional culture is no longer capable of functioning properly and of integrating its members. At the same time, new secular cultural ideals are being propagated in terms of a national framework. But this new culture pattern, seemingly almost created by fiat by leading intellectuals, impinges only superficially

²⁷ S. A. Theodorson, "Acceptance of Industrialization and Its Attendant Consequences for the Social Patterns of Non-Western Societies," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (1953), pp. 481-482.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 478-479.

²⁹ J. M. van der Kroef, "Southeast Asia—Some Anthropological Aspects," *Human Organization*, X (1950), pp. 5-15.

³⁰ P. de Josselin de Jong, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-119.

upon the villager. Where this happens, the growth of mass phenomena may be expected; social life becomes segmented—i.e., "individuals interact not as whole personalities" in terms of a common and clearly defined social structure such as the village community or the aristocratic patrimonium, "but in terms of specific roles they play in the situation at hand."³¹ One major consequence is the search for new instruments, symbols, or structures (often artificial and divorced of meaning) that can provide cohesion.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

Primarily since early 1950, the Indonesian government has undertaken measures to modernize and strengthen the village society.³² A special section of the Ministry of the Interior is charged with the *Pembangunan Desa* (reconstruction of the village community). This section is represented at the local and district level and is concerned with all aspects of rural development, from education to credit services. Throughout the archipelago, too, there are private *Panitia Pembangunan Masyarakat* (people's welfare committees), founded by political parties or else by local progressive individuals; these provide funds and much needed information to the villagers. Agricultural extension work is also progressing. The Ministry of Agriculture has several sections concerned with rural development, of which the most important is perhaps the *Balai Perantjang Tata Bumi* (Office of Rural Planning). In order to coördinate all these services, another body was established in December, 1950—the *Panitia Perkembangan Usaha Usaha Tani*

(Commission for Rural Development) with its own treasury and officials. Since that time additional agencies have been created, some with specific duties such as supervision over children's welfare, promotion of local co-operatives, and provision of libraries. In particular, two aspects of all these efforts should be noted.

There is first of all what might be called the communal character of these rural development schemes. The government agencies address their reconstruction program not so much to the individual villager as to the village community as a whole, seeking to strengthen its social basis wherever possible. In so doing, the agencies do not emphasize the communal religious character of village society, which, as has been pointed out, is the basis of its integration. Nor does the program necessarily confirm the authority of traditional headmen or of the *adat*. If the latter fit into it, they are undoubtedly utilized; but very frequently the agencies, working through young, semi-intellectual elements in the rural society concerned, make these elements and not the *adat* officials the vanguard in reconstruction efforts. We may conclude that the government seeks to strengthen the village primarily on a modern, secular basis by relating the motivations of the members to a newly acquired sense of national pride and to the necessity of common effort by all national citizens in building up the country.

The second notable aspect of the reconstruction program is connected with a particular *adat* feature which the government agencies do emphasize—namely, the principle of cooperation and mutual assistance traditional in the village society. This principle is commonly referred to as *gotong rojong*, although it has many variations. Not only may it mean a sense of solidarity on the part of the members of a particular village in common work

³¹ Philip Selznick, "Institutional Vulnerability in Mass Society," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (1951), p. 326.

³² C. Grader, "Landelijke organisatie en dorpsvernieuwing in Indonesië," in G. van der Kolff (ed.), *Sticusa Jaarboek 1951* (Amsterdam, 1951), pp. 25-46.

efforts, but also it has come to be associated with peasant organizations and cooperatives on an inter-village basis. This associational aspect of the rural development schema is well founded in tradition; and by allying itself with *gotong rojong*, the government has placed its program on a strong foundation. While the voluntary association element in *gotong rojong* is coming more and more to the fore as the principle of religious obligation declines along with the magico-religious foundation of the village community, this form of cooperation remains an ideal basis not only for economic development but for community reconstruction as well. Association leadership tends to be more democratic than village headship, and the rules of the group are more or less democratically arrived at.³³

Both the national state and the local councils of government are concerned with rural reconstruction, and it is perhaps with the latter that the burden of development should lie. It is interesting to note that at least one such local council—on the island of Sumba in East Indonesia—recently proposed to reactivate a different kind of mutual obligation pattern in order to promote forest conservation. This pattern is the *ruato*. A system of religiously oriented sanctions in a given community is given binding force by a visible symbol, called *ruato*. The *ruato*, erected on a traditionally acceptable spot, consists of a bamboo trunk with seven branches. To the top of the *ruato* is attached a piece of red cloth.

Beneath the *ruato* are sacrificed a goat, a pig, and a male dog of about seven months. The tails of the three animals and the lower jaw of the pig are hung on the trunk. The number seven has an ancient religious meaning—it symbolizes the seven layers of heaven which the mythical ancestors traversed before they set foot on Sumba. The red cloth symbolizes the higher unity of all clans on Sumba, their common descent from a single ancestral pair. The purpose of the *ruato* was to institute certain measures applicable to all, concerning the proper use of fields and water resources, the relations between sexes, the cultivation of livestock, the clearing of new lands, etc. These measures, if obeyed, are believed to bring unbounded prosperity ("... in order that the horns of the buffalo may become long, in order that food and drink may be abundant, in order that children will grow up and the aged will become even older," etc.). The *ruato* was the symbol of these rules and the happiness that came in following the *adat*. It is quite possible, as the Sumba Council apparently believed, that modern reconstruction efforts may make use of this pattern of obligation and prohibitions which is so deeply rooted in rural societies. This may be useful elsewhere in Indonesia, as well as on Sumba.³⁴

It is not inconceivable, then, that the new national state may be able to prevent the worst evils of disorganization and too rapid social change by strengthening the communal and associational aspects of traditional rural society. But its efforts must be slow and calculated, with a constant eye on the incredible differences in social structure and tradition throughout this vast archipelago.

³³ The *gemohin* on Adonari, in the Solor Islands, is such a voluntary self-help group, consisting of men living in the same village who have freely adopted their own working regulations. Cf. C. Ouwehand, "De Gemohin, een maatschappij op Adonari," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde* (Jubileum nummer, 1951), pp. 379-391.

³⁴ C. Ouwehand, "Adatrecht en daerawetgeving met betrekking tot de bosbescherming op Sumba," *Indonesië*, IV (1951), pp. 546-549.

RURAL LOCALITY GROUPS: CHANGING PATTERNS, CHANGE FACTORS, AND IMPLICATIONS

by Alvin L. Bertrand†

ABSTRACT

This paper examines recent changes in rural locality-group patterns, factors responsible for these changes, and implications of them, as revealed or suggested in recent literature on the subject. The change factors are classified in four groups: technology, population shifts, prosperity, and legislative programs.

The neighborhood, as traditionally defined, seems now to be more of an ideal than a reality, and the community apparently is superseding the neighborhood as the basic locality group in many rural areas. There is increasing centralization of institutions in the larger centers and a growing multiplicity of special-interest groups in which rural people participate. Many researchers are suggesting that old classifications and conceptual schemes relating to locality groups need reexamination.

Researchers, teachers, and extension workers in rural sociology are presented with a serious challenge.

Rural neighborhood and community patterns are changing and new organizational arrangements have come or are coming into existence. Two major questions need to be considered: (1) "What factor or factors have modified the structure and functioning of rural locality groups," and (2) "What changes have taken or are taking place?" The first two sections of this report are preliminary attempts to answer these queries. The final section is concerned with the challenging implications which these answers have for rural sociologists. It should be noted that this is not a presentation of new discoveries. Rather it is an attempt to systematize and highlight the findings of various research studies by scholars throughout the nation.

FACTORS CONDITIONING OR MODIFYING RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Brunner states that "Social organization is simply a term to indicate the arrangements which human beings collectively have made to help them

achieve their purposes."¹ This definition suggests that, in a dynamic society such as ours, one should expect continual change in social organization. In other words, each new item of culture—invented or borrowed, material or nonmaterial—calls for a redefinition of aims, goals, and purposes, which in turn causes change in the structure and functioning of society. The task at hand is to single out the major cultural innovations which have impinged upon the rural scene in such a way as to change neighborhood and community patterns. The principal influences of this nature may be grouped under four broad headings, as follows:

(1) *Technology*.—So much has been written about the "technological revolution" which has come to the rural areas of the nation that it is unnecessary to repeat the evidence here. No one will dispute the statement that the impact of technology has accounted for

¹ Edmund deS. Brunner, "Changing Patterns of Rural Social Organization," in Sloan R. Wayland, Edmund deS. Brunner, and Frank W. Cyr (eds.), *Farmers of the Future*, a report of the Columbia University Seminar on Rural Life (New York: Teachers College, 1953), p. 54.

†Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.

many of the changes taking place in rural locality groups. The influence of this factor has made itself felt in two major ways.

First, attention should be called to the innovations in communication and transportation. The increased use of motor transportation has been coupled with great expansion in the network of farm roads and improvement of these roads for all-weather passage. This has made it easier to increase the frequency of contacts outside the neighborhood and community.

The great majority of the nation's farm homes now have radio, and many have television. Ruralites now generally keep abreast of news through these means rather than through informal word-of-mouth communication. These devices bring rural people a broader perspective of life as well as recreational benefits. Both types of experience probably have stimulated modifications in community and neighborhood patterns of living.

The second major kind of technological influence is found in the shift to scientific and mechanized farming. Almost all farm people have been affected to some extent by this change. The use of machines in agriculture has meant higher capital investment, which in turn is related to credit and tenure arrangements and to the opportunity for youths to engage in farming as an occupation. Furthermore, as Wakeley and Jehlik have pointed out, attitudes and opinions have been changed. For example, these authors cite the growing tendency among farmers to place their faith in machines rather than men, for tasks of all kinds.² It has been pointed out that the end result of scientific and mechanized farming is an entirely new set of social relationships, with more attention given to special-

ized leadership from outside the community.

(2) *Population Changes.*—Although there is a close connection between certain types of population movements and agricultural mechanization, other types of population change apparently have little relationship to this phenomenon. The latter fact makes it advisable to include all population shifts under a separate heading, as is done here.

The most important shift, of course, has been the rapid movement of people away from farms. This phenomenon is so well known that no documentation is necessary. The implications which it has had for rural social institutions and social interaction are numerous. Accompanying the trend toward urbanization have been trends toward aging and, in some communities, changes in racial composition and birth rates. There has also been noted a gradual assimilation of ethnic groups in several localities. The latter have heretofore accounted for many close-knit, independent, rural neighborhoods and communities.

Another type of population shift merits attention in seeking causes for new patterns in rural social organization. This is the increasing number of people who are moving to rural residences while maintaining employment in urban centers. In naming prospective changes in farming in the United States, Sherman Johnson points out, "As good roads, electricity, and other conveniences become more readily available in rural areas, more and more people engaged in nonfarm employment will seek to establish rural homes."³ What this shift will mean in terms of new patterns has not yet been thoroughly studied. Nevertheless, one is safe in assuming that it will bring

² Paul J. Jehlik and Ray E. Wakeley, *Rural Organization in Process: A Case Study of Hamilton County, Iowa* (Ames: Iowa AES Bull. No. 365, 1949), p. 191.

³ Sherman E. Johnson, *Changes in Farming* (Washington: USDA, Bureau of Agr. Econ., 1948), p. 51.

changes in the way of life these urbanites have known.

(3) *"Good Times."*—Certain recent changes in locality-group structure and functioning seem to be associated with so-called "good times." It is an established fact that farmers have enjoyed a period of relative abundance. They have achieved a higher level of living, and this has resulted in broader social contacts. One needs but to cite the annual trek of farmers to vacation resorts and to holidays in the great metropolitan centers, to make this point. In addition, individual members of farm families have had a great deal more freedom in their choice of consumer items—both those having to do with material satisfactions and those related to social satisfactions. This has tended to change their interactional behavior at the local level.

As a result of good incomes, farmers have gained a relatively high degree of economic security. This security—to put aside for the moment the question of whether it is more apparent than real—has brought changes in social organization in locality groups. On the one hand, less need is felt for mutual-aid agreements or other types of dependence on neighbors. On the other hand, more contacts of a secondary nature are made, to satisfy increasingly varied interests. Thus, the developing economic independence of rural people tends to increase their reliance upon impersonal associations.

(4) *Legislative Programs.*—For years there has been a tendency for government to enter into the manifold phases of rural life to a greater and greater extent. It should not be surprising, therefore, that a relationship exists between governmental programs and changes in locality-group patterns. The increasing dependence of farmers on government programs of one kind or another—for credit, for subsidy, for

relief, and for professional advice—certainly increases contacts of a secondary nature and changes interactional relationships with local persons and institutions. Beyond this, there is the growing dependence of ruralites on the functionary leadership of government agents and representatives. The latter, quite often, are nonresidents of the community and are not identified with institutionalized types of activities within the community. The result seems to be a shift toward an organic type of cohesion in rural groups instead of a mechanistic type, in the Durkheimian sense. This was the conclusion reached by Jehlik and Wakeley in their study of Hamilton County, Iowa.⁴

TRENDS IN RURAL LOCALITY-GROUP STRUCTURE

The cumulative effect of the change factors just listed may be summarized in one broad general statement: *The rural neighborhood and community as traditionally defined have lost their identity, or are losing it.* The neighborhood, as the smallest locality group and consisting of a few families in close communion and possessing a sense of belonging together, is now more an ideal than a reality. Thus the concept of the community as a larger and more self-sufficient locality group which includes neighborhoods must be reexamined or further tested. It has been suggested that the community has superseded the neighborhood as the basic locality group in many rural areas.

A great many researchers, working in different areas with widely varying ecological patterns, have shown changes in the structure and functioning of locality groups in recent years. On the basis of their evidence, two general areas of change stand out as of major importance:

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

(1) *Increasing Centralization of Social Institutions.*—Researchers in various parts of the United States have almost unanimously concluded that interactional patterns having to do with such institutions as the church, education, family, economics, and government are being concentrated in the larger trade centers. For example, Jehlik and Wakeley report, "Hamilton County [Iowa] is experiencing an increasing concentration of institutional services in the trade-centers."⁵ Folkman writes that in Arkansas a consolidation of schools and a decline of locality-group churches have accompanied the dissolution of the neighborhood.⁶ Findings similar to the above have been reported by Anderson in Nebraska,⁷ Jehlik and Losey in Indiana,⁸ Hay and Polson in New York,⁹ and Hepple and Bright in Missouri,¹⁰ among many others. One phase of the centralization of services not generally recognized is brought out by Mayo and Bobbitt.¹¹ In citing changes taking place in Wake County, North Carolina, locality groups over a 25-year period,

they name the elimination of post offices as having had considerable effect on social organization in the county.

(2) *Increasing Multiplicity of Special-Interest Groups.*—A second well-documented change is that of increased participation in formal organizations. The tendency is for individuals to give more and more attention to specialized group associations but to decrease the intensity of participation in each group. In other words, many more formal clubs and societies are making their appearance in rural communities and are recruiting membership from among persons who heretofore limited their participation to informal gatherings. The formal organizations run the gamut of the professional, church, fraternal, civic, and educational types. Evidence has been recorded by researchers in all parts of the nation. For example, there are Jehlik and Wakeley's study in Hamilton County, Iowa,¹² Hay's on social participation in three rural communities in Maine and one in New York,¹³ Alexander and Nelson's in Goodhue County, Minnesota,¹⁴ Wileden's on trends in rural organizations in Wisconsin,¹⁵ Hay and Polson's in Oneida County, New York,¹⁶ and Hardee and Bauder's on town-country relations in special-interest organizations in Kentucky.¹⁷

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 193.

⁶ William S. Folkman, "Changes in Rural Community Organization," unpublished paper read before the annual meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Society in Dallas, Texas, April, 1952.

⁷ A. H. Anderson, *A Study of Rural Communities and Organizations in Seward County, Nebraska* (Lincoln: Nebraska AES Bull. 405, 1951).

⁸ Paul J. Jehlik and J. Edwin Losey, *Rural Social Organization in Henry County, Indiana* (Lafayette: Indiana AES Bull. 568, 1951).

⁹ Donald G. Hay and Robert A. Polson, *Rural Organizations in Oneida County, New York* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell AES Bull. 871, 1951).

¹⁰ Lawrence M. Hepple and Margaret L. Bright, *Social Changes in Shelby County, Missouri* (Columbia: Missouri AES Bull. 456, 1950).

¹¹ Selz C. Mayo and Robert McD. Bobbitt, *Rural Organization: A Restudy of Locality Groups in Wake County, North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina AES Tech. Bull. No. 95, 1951), p. 46.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

¹³ Donald G. Hay, "Social Participation in Four Rural Communities of the Northeast," *Rural Sociology*, XVI: 2 (1951), pp. 127-136.

¹⁴ Frank D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson, *Rural Social Organization, Goodhue County, Minnesota* (St. Paul: Minnesota AES Bull. No. 401, 1947), p. 84.

¹⁵ A. F. Wileden, *Trends in Rural Organizations in Wisconsin* (Madison: Wisconsin Agr. Ext. Service, special circular, 1951), p. 1.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁷ Joseph G. Hardee and Ward W. Bauder, *Town-Country Relations in Special-Interest Organizations, Four Selected Kentucky Counties* (Lexington: Kentucky AES Bull. No. 586, 1952), p. 34.

The significance of this trend is already quite clear. Rural organization is developing into a more and more complex pattern of groups, many of which meet only highly specialized needs. As a result, the bonds holding individuals and groups together are increasingly of the organic type mentioned above.

THE DEMAND FOR REEXAMINATION OF CONCEPTS

One of the indications that new patterns are developing is found in the suggestion of many researchers that old classifications and conceptual schemes relating to locality groups need reexamination. While this suggestion is not entirely new, it has recently been made with increasing frequency. There is also criticism such as Kollmorgen and Harrison's,¹⁸ which has been prevalent through the years and may perhaps be discounted.

In 1948, Gross, after careful study of four rural communities, seriously questioned the rural-urban dichotomy as useful in the development of systematic sociological theory.¹⁹ The interesting conclusion of this article is that residents themselves disagree on both the existence and delineation of neighborhoods. Three years later, Spaulding suggested "the development of theory with a frame of reference constructed in terms of the similarities in the behavior of people living in rural and urban areas rather than in terms of rural-urban 'dichotomy' and 'continuum.'"²⁰ Again the inference was that neighborhoods were not as clear-cut and definite as had been as-

sumed. In 1952, Alexander wrote, "Generally, locality groups have been divided into two basic categories: neighborhood and community. The great variation in locality-group characteristics makes this dichotomy inadequate."²¹ In 1953, Slocum and Case devoted eight pages of *Rural Sociology* to the inquiry "Are Neighborhoods Meaningful Social Groups Throughout Rural America?"²² The above should suffice as evidence that there is a genuine concern over the definition, prevalence, and significance of neighborhoods in rural America today. So far as the writer is concerned, this is not to question that neighborhoods held a recognizable identity and played an important part in early America, nor does it necessarily suggest that the term "neighborhood" be dropped from the vocabulary of rural sociology. Rather it is a recognition that our society is dynamic and ever-changing and that new patterns have evolved in certain areas, though not necessarily in all places in this country or in all other countries.

IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGED PATTERNS

Obviously the first step to be taken after sufficient empirical confirmation of new patterns of social organization has been provided is to work on meaningful frames of reference, as Alexander, Gross, Spaulding, Slocum and Case, and others have suggested. Whether Alexander's scheme of classification based on service rating and group-identification rating is a more useful approach to the study of locality-group structure than the rural-urban continuum or other alternative approaches needs careful study. Per-

¹⁸ Walter M. Kollmorgen and Robert W. Harrison, "The Search for the Rural Community," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 20 (1946), pp. 1-8.

¹⁹ Neal Gross, "Sociological Variation in Contemporary Rural Life," *Rural Sociology*, XIII:3 (1948), pp. 256-269.

²⁰ Irving A. Spaulding, "Serendipity and the Rural-Urban Continuum," *Rural Sociology*, XVI:1 (1951), p. 29.

²¹ Frank D. Alexander, "The Problem of Locality-Group Classification," *Rural Sociology*, XVII:3 (1952), p. 236.

²² Walter L. Slocum and Herman M. Case, "Are Neighborhoods Meaningful Social Groups Throughout Rural America?" *Rural Sociology*, XVIII:1 (1953), pp. 52-59.

haps Slocum and Case's suggestion that neighborhood forms may vary, "from the *Gemeinschaft* type of well-structured, clearly articulated neighborhood to the *Gesellschaft* situation where there is almost total lack of neighborly relations"²³ should be the beginning point for more thorough investigations. The feeling of the writer is that, whatever approach is used, present terminology can be adapted to it. In other words, there is no need to depart from the use of words such as *rural* or *urban* or *neighborhood* or *community*, at least for the present; however, it is clear that something has to be done by way of redefining.

A second obvious implication comes closer home to most rural sociologists. It involves rewriting parts of the textbooks, and a corresponding reorientation of teaching. It has been pointed out that the eight leading contemporary rural sociology textbooks are in general agreement in defining the rural neighborhood in the traditional way and in stating or implying that it is to be found in all sections of the country.²⁴ It should be stated that the recent editions of some of these texts have indicated that there is need for a continuing study of rural locality groups. For example, Smith says, "As yet there has been no thorough-going

analysis of the evolution and present status of the American neighborhood and community."²⁵ Nevertheless, the teacher is faced with the necessity of pointing out that newer patterns than the ones presented in the texts have evolved or are evolving. If this is not done, rural sociologists will be guilty of, in Slocum and Case's words, "... misleading not only ourselves but also our students and the action agencies that depend upon us for advice with respect to the significance of groups in rural society."²⁶

In summary, it may be said that new neighborhood and community patterns are associated with other changes in rural social organization which have been occurring as a result of the impact of technology, prosperity, legislation, and population shifts. The new patterns and arrangements, including the centralization of social institutions and the multiplication of special-interest groups, are such that the community rather than the neighborhood stands out as the basic locality group in rural areas. These changes suggest a need for more structure-function analysis of rural locality groups. Researchers, teachers, and extension workers in rural sociology are presented with a serious challenge.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

²⁵ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (3rd ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), p. 382.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

RESEARCH NOTES

Edited by Harold F. Kaufman

FARMERS' PRACTICE-ADOPTION RATES IN RELATION TO ADOPTION RATES OF "LEADERS"*

by C. Paul Marsh and A. Lee Coleman†

Wilkening¹ found in a North Carolina community that the farm operators to whom other farmers went for advice on farm matters were not far ahead of the average farmer of the community in the adoption of new farm practices. He found little difference between the adoption rates (as measured by an index of improved practices) of those operators to whom two or more farmers said they went for advice on farm matters and the adoption rates of the farmers in general. He suggests that these "informal leaders" reflect the conservative and traditional values of the community studied, and thus are "unlikely to support a new idea unless it supports the existing social and cultural system, or unless it is likely to meet with group approval."

Lionberger,² however, found a quite different situation in a Missouri community. He found that farmers to whom other farmers most frequently talked about farm matters were far ahead in the use of recommended farm practices.

Data which are similar to, though not directly comparable with, Wilkening's and Lionberger's were obtained in a 1950 study of 393 farm operators in a Kentucky county. All farmers in thirteen neighborhoods were interviewed. Information was obtained on the extent to which each of the operators had tried and was using 21 recommended farm practices. A practice-adoption score was computed for each farmer. This score is the percentage of applicable practices that the operator had adopted.³ Thus, if 20 practices applied to a farm and the op-

erator had adopted 16 of them, his score is 80.

For each of five practices, an attempt was made to get detailed data on the respondents' sources of information, including any specific individuals (other than professional farm advisors) from whom they had got information. Of the 393 farmers interviewed, 189 named one or more other persons as a source of information on at least one practice. Fifty-nine persons were listed by two or more farmers, but only 29 of these were among those interviewed.⁴ This paper is based on the comparison of the adoption scores of these 29 and the scores of the respondents in general.

Though the scores of those listed as sources of information ranged from 22 to 89, their mean score was 56 as compared with a mean score of 40 for all farmers (Table 1). Though these data tend to support Lionberger's findings rather than Wilkening's, the latter's hypothesis that the local leaders reflect the values and attitudes of the community suggests a further analysis of the Kentucky data. There were wide variations among the 13 neighborhoods in the adoption scores of operators, with a range from a mean of 25 in one neighborhood to a mean of 57 in another; and, as was noted above, there was also a wide range in the adoption scores of those listed as sources of information. The hypothesis, then, is that in areas of high adoption those from whom farmers obtain information have a higher adoption rate than farmers in general, but in areas of low adoption the adoption rates of "leaders" are similar to those of other farmers. This hypothesis assumes that leaders in farming matters reflect, in large part, the values and attitudes of most farmers in the neighborhood regarding such matters; and that the adoption rate within a neighborhood indicates, in part, the attitudes of the residents toward changes in farm practices. That is, it is hypothesized that if the residents of a neighborhood place a high value on innovations (as indicated by a high rate of adoption), they will go to innovators⁵ for infor-

*The investigation reported in this paper is in connection with a project of the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station and is published by permission of the director.

†University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

¹Eugene A. Wilkening, "Informal Leaders and Innovators in Farm Practices," *Rural Sociology*, XVII:3 (Sept., 1952), pp. 272-275.

²Herbert F. Lionberger, "Some Characteristics of Farm Operators Sought as Sources of Farm Information in a Missouri Community," *Rural Sociology*, XVIII:4 (Dec., 1953), pp. 327-338.

³"Adoption" here is defined as having tried the practice.

⁴The remaining 30 did not qualify for interview, either because they were not farm operators or because they did not live within the study area.

⁵This does not assume, of course, that all innovators will be sought as sources of information. Presumably there are also other factors that determine "leadership."

mation; but, on the other hand, if the residents are resistant to innovations, the "leaders" whose advice is sought are unlikely to be innovators.

TABLE 1. MEAN ADOPTION SCORES OF "LEADERS"* AND OF ALL RESPONDENTS IN AREAS OF "HIGH ADOPTION" AND "LOW ADOPTION"

Kind of area**	Leaders		All respondents	
	Number of cases	Mean score	Number of cases	Mean score
All areas..	29	56	393	40
"High adoption" areas	19	66	198	48
"Low adoption" areas	10	37	195	32

*"Leaders" are those who were listed by two or more farmers as a source of information about one or more farming practices.

**"High adoption" areas include all neighborhoods having mean adoption scores of 40 or higher. "Low adoption" areas are the neighborhoods having mean scores of less than 40.

This hypothesis is supported by the data. In areas of high adoption, the adoption scores of farmers listed as sources of information were decidedly higher than those of most farmers, while in areas of low adoption, the scores of the "leaders" were only slightly higher than those of other farmers. The five neighborhoods in which the mean scores of the residents were less than 40 were grouped together, as were the eight neighborhoods in which the mean scores were greater than 40. In the neighborhoods with the lower scores, the mean for all farmers was 32 and that of those listed as sources of information was 37; but in the neighborhoods with mean scores greater than 40, the over-all mean was 48 as compared with a mean of 66 for "leaders" (Table 1). In the low adoption areas the "leaders'" scores ranged from 22 to 47, while in the high adoption areas the range was from 45 to 89.

* Though the sample was not randomly selected, tests of significance were computed. In areas of low adoption the difference between the mean score of "leaders" and that of all farmers was not significant at the .05 level by *t* test, but in areas of high adoption the difference between the means of the two groups was significant.

PROCEDURE AND PROBLEMS OF DELINEATING LOCALITY GROUPS IN LATIN AMERICA

by Norman W. Painter†

Locality-group delineation has been an important activity of rural sociologists in the United States for many years. The writer feels that a systematic taxonomy should be developed for locality groups in order to relate the larger and smaller groups. Also, the usefulness of the techniques in various cultures should be explored.

On the basis of field experience in 1951 in the trade-center area of Turrialba, Costa Rica, the writer will explore the question of applicability in Latin America. In this study the attempt was to delineate the smallest meaningful unit, to insure maximum homogeneity of groups.

SOME PROBLEMS OF DELINEATION

After a survey of the literature, it was decided to use identification as a criterion for delimiting locality groups. The question arises whether psychological self-identification of spatial groups is possible. Are people oriented to spatially determinable groups? In Costa Rica it developed that people do identify with spatial areas. When the people of the Turrialba trade-center community are at or near their homes, they identify with the local neighborhood in which they live (the smallest determinable locale). One cluster of only five families was found to form an identifiable group, although no services of any kind were offered in the immediate locale. When the people are in the trade center itself, they still identify with the neighborhood. But when they are farther away from home, outside the trade center, they have a strong tendency to identify with Turrialba—rarely with the smaller neighborhoods.¹

Topography presents a major problem in delineation in Latin America. Many researchers in the United States use some basic method of delineation (interviewing merchants and other officials in the trade center, for example) and then "refine" the boundary so determined—usually by talking with people along the peripheries. But

†The Central University of Venezuela, Caracas, Venezuela.

¹ For this reason, in addition to its utility for determining the neighborhoods within a community, the questionnaire presented below is believed adequate for locating the limits of a trade community itself. Actually other items were added for the latter purpose, and businessmen and other agents were included in the interviewing.

in much of Latin America it is difficult to refine community boundaries, which may be along virtually inaccessible peripheries of mountainous or jungle regions. In these areas of unusual topography, one definitely could not use the rapid technique of locating the boundary between two communities on the basis of the relative populations of their central towns—although this has been applied with apparent success in some regions of the United States. Furthermore, much of Latin America is lacking in modern means of transportation (although there are some definite exceptions). Whereas a distance of 50 miles or more may be relatively insignificant for the North American, such distances are traversed in regions of rugged terrain only to meet some dire need.

How have political boundaries been influenced by topography in Latin America? Can they ever be used even in the preliminary or planning stages of community studies? Actually, in Latin America, political boundaries do not consistently follow either mountain ridges or rivers. And some groups, especially indigenous peoples, completely ignore even national boundaries.

Much could be said with respect to the ever-present semantic problem. A question must be meaningful. The paucity of adequate concepts in Spanish, plus lack of agreement on the meaning of concepts used, makes the problem more complicated in Latin America. Are errors due to poor communication consistent and all in the same direction, or does this vary? How can such a problem be resolved, especially in a culture which is not thoroughly familiar to the investigator?

Respondents are not always correctly informed. In the United States there is a tendency to overextend the area of influence of a trade center. In Latin America it was found that this error is two-directional: respondents both over- and under-extend. Both the *padre* of the local church and some of the school officials in Turrialba inaccurately located their respective "official" boundaries, as compared with the actual patterns later determined. How can this type of error be compensated for?

The perennial problem of obtaining responses which will provide the kind of data needed and desired, from informants who are not thinking in terms of delineation, is intensified by the nature of certain pressing social problems in Latin America. Because of the general paucity of transportation in much of Latin America, the farmers often have difficulty in getting their produce to market. If an informant thinks that the investigator may be trying to de-

termine the need for a new road in the area, he may try to "sell" the idea that he is attached to a center where the market for his particular products is better, rather than admit that he really goes most often to another center. Numerous ulterior motives may grow out of this kind of problem.

The serious problem of institutionalized lying, experienced often by "urbanites" doing research in rural areas, is exaggerated for the foreigner in an alien culture. It is customary for people in certain status positions to misrepresent things to other people under prescribed circumstances. How can an investigator determine the presence of such a situation, and how can he handle the "lying" problem?

A special aspect of the above in Latin America is that rural people are not accustomed to having scientists come around asking questions. They may be suspicious and even fearful, sometimes for good reason. Responses obtained under such circumstances may not be valid.

PROCEDURE AND RESULTS: TURRIALBA

The use of identification, or "feeling of belonging," is not new; Ensminger and Sanders used it in 1940 along peripheries to refine locality-group boundaries previously delineated by trade-center "leaders" and other individuals selected for their "good knowledge of the area."² Faced with an unfamiliar cultural situation in the Turrialba study, the writer felt that this technique would be improved if identification were taken as the basis of delineation from the start, and if data were obtained by direct interviewing of the individuals making up the smallest definable locality groupings, especially along the supposed peripheries. The following items made up the brief questionnaire used:

1. What is the name of this place?
2. Who is the head of this family?
3. Where does the head of the family work?
4. If you were in _____ (an adjacent neighborhood) and someone asked you where you live, what would you tell him?
5. If you were in Turrialba (the trade center) and someone asked you where you live, what would you tell him?
6. If you were in Cartago (the provincial capital) and someone asked you where you live, what would you tell him?

² Douglas Ensminger and Irwin T. Sanders, *Alabama Rural Communities: A Study of Chilton County*, Bull. No. 136, Alabama College, Vol. 32, No. 1A (July, 1940).

7. What places do you (plural—the family) visit more frequently?
8. Where do you buy groceries?
9. What church do you attend?
10. Where do you send your children to school?

The first two questions were considered rapport items as well as aids in establishing the location of a given family. Questions 3 and 7 to 10 were used to determine the patterns of association according to the factors indicated. Questions 4, 5, and 6 were the basic identification items. In the end, these three were found adequate for dividing the families of the trade-center community into locality-identification groups. They permitted the determination of the smallest of units.

In Turrialba, the responses to the questions fell into consistent patterns. Question 4 invariably resulted in the naming of the place given in response to the first question. Question 5 was found to give results which roughly coincided with those of the "service" items (7 to 10), when the services were available locally. And question 6 invariably brought out the name of the trade center itself.

GROUP PARTICIPATION AND PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT*

by John R. Christiansen†
and Thel R. Black††

In harmony with the theory that the individual's personality and behavior patterns change and are modified by the totality of his experience, the stage of adolescence in our society is recognized as an exceptionally acute phase of self-development. As a major problem, the adolescent faces the necessity for defining his self in relation to new groups, experiences, and expectations. Adequate solution to the problem is vastly influenced by the nature of the person's associations, whether they are satisfying and relatively free from conflict, and whether he is accepted and wanted as an individual.¹

Whether the individual feels accepted or not is largely a product of his group affiliations. The group can show an accepting

attitude to the individual by such means as: (1) giving him membership, (2) applauding his efforts, and (3) excusing his mistakes.

The present study was guided by this theory of the role of the group, and was designed as an empirical test of it. The study sought to determine the relation of participation in the following four types of group activities to the personality adjustment of rural high-school students: (a) family activities, (b) school activities, (c) church activities, and (d) the selected social activities of dating and dancing.

Two hypotheses served to orient the investigations:

Hypothesis I: Association exists between "total group participation" and personality adjustment—"total group participation" being defined as the sum of the scores for participation in family, school, church, and the peer-group activities of dating and dancing.

Hypothesis II: Association exists between group participation in each of these four types of activities and personality adjustment.

CHARACTERISTICS OF DATA AND PROCEDURE

The data on which the study was based were collected in 1951 by the Sociology Department at Utah State Agricultural College. The primary purpose of collecting the data, at the time, was to provide information for agricultural extension discussions with rural leaders interested in youth.

The subjects were 317 rural high-school students from the counties of Kane and Piute, Utah. These counties were selected as representative of rural-nonfarm and rural-farm populations of southern Utah. Ninety-four per cent of the junior and senior students in these counties were given a personality test and a questionnaire to complete under careful supervision.

The California Test of Personality, Secondary Form A, was used to measure personality adjustment. Only the total adjustment score was used.

The questionnaire yielded participation scores and other pertinent information. A value of 1 was given for each activity in each of the types of participation (family, school, church, and dating and dancing), no attempt being made to weight the importance of some activities over others. Partial participation scores were derived for each student by summing his unit values within each major type of activity. The total participation score for each student

*This note is based on: John R. Christiansen, "Group Participation among Kane and Piute County, Utah, High School Students in Relation to Personality Adjustment" (unpublished M.S. thesis, Utah State Agricultural College, 1952). The thesis director was Thel R. Black.

†University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

††Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah.

¹J. W. Bennett and M. M. Tumin, *Social Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 336.

TABLE 1. RELATION OF TOTAL PARTICIPATION SCORES TO PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT SCORES

Total participation scores	Personality adjustment scores			
	Low (under 130)	Medium (130 to 150)	High (150 and over)	Total
	<i>N</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Low (under 24)	163	49	37	14
High (24 and above)	154	23	45	32
Total	317	36	41	23
				100

χ^2 is 27.52, with 2 degrees of freedom; P is less than .01; \bar{C} is .40.

TABLE 2. RELATION OF TOTAL PARTICIPATION SCORES TO PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT SCORES, BY OCCUPATION OF FAMILY HEAD AND PARENTS' SUCCESS EXPECTATIONS

Subgroupings based on associated variables	<i>N</i>	Chi-square	<i>P</i> less than:	\bar{C}
Occupation of family head:				
Nonfarm	165	12.73	.01	.39
Farm	148	11.92	.01	.40
Success expectations of parents:				
Expect too much	121	13.36	.01	.46
Seldom expect too much	196	8.55	.02	.30

was obtained by combining his scores in the four major types of activity.

Chi-square was used to test for the existence of association, and the Coefficient of Contingency (\bar{C})² was used as the measure of degree of association. The five per cent level of significance was adopted.

FINDINGS

Two tests were made of Hypothesis I. The first tested the association between the central variables of participation and personality. A statistically significant positive association was shown; \bar{C} was .40 (Table 1).

Further analysis, with social participation scores divided into more class intervals, revealed an interesting aspect of the association—that the relationship is not represented by a straight line, but is better shown by a logistic curve. Though the general tendency is for participation and personality to be positively associated, there is a tendency for a significant pro-

portion of the most frequent participants to have average-to-low personality scores.

In further testing Hypothesis I, it was felt important to locate other associated variables. From the data elicited in the questionnaire, all variables thought to be associated with personality adjustment, in addition to group participation, were tested for such association. Two variables were found to be associated: (1) the occupation of the family head, whether farm or non-farm—the children of farmers had the higher scores, and (2) the degree of parents' success expectation of the child³—personality scores were lower where expectations were higher.

The second test of Hypothesis I was to reexamine the association between group participation and personality adjustment, with the two factors of occupation of family head and parents' success expectation held constant. If the association still held, it would be assumed that the related factor controlled was not producing a spurious association, and that the relationship of

²T. C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941), pp. 203-208.

³The rating of "parents' success expectation of child" was taken from the questionnaire filled in by the child, and thus represents the child's estimate of the parents' expectation.

TABLE 3. RELATION OF COMPONENT PARTICIPATION SCORES TO TOTAL ADJUSTMENT SCORES

Association of personality adjustment scores and:	Chi-square	<i>P</i> less than:	\bar{O}
Family-participation scores.....	13.28	.01	.29
School-participation scores.....	14.66	.01	.29
Church-participation scores.....	10.12	.05	.24
Dating-and-dancing-participation scores.....	12.88	.01	.29

participation to personality was valid to that extent.

Only one variable could be controlled at a time due to limitations in sample size. As Table 2 indicates, the relationship still held when each of the two variables was controlled, in turn.

Hypothesis II was tested by relating the separate scores from each type of group participation (family, school, church, and dating and dancing) to the personality adjustment scores. Other possibly associated variables were not held constant, due to size of sample. The association between adjustment scores and participation in each of four kinds of activities was significant, and the direction of the association was positive (Table 3).

These results tend to support an aspect of the social interactionist theory of personality formation—that group participation affects the personality adjustment of adolescents. These findings also support the idea that the adolescent is enlarging his social world outside the family, and is influenced by the social institutions with which he comes in contact. Through such participation, the individual is aided in the development of social skills which promote further ease and success in group activity. Likewise, feelings of confidence and acceptance of the self are more deeply implanted. Furthermore, the individual develops a feeling of confidence and acceptance of the self through such group participation.

Further studies might test the relationship between participation and personality adjustment in different situations. Factors other than those controlled in this study may need to be discovered and held constant. This suggests the importance of a larger sample and more refined techniques. The effects of social participation and personality upon each other and related variables could be considered in future investigations.

USE OF JUDGES' RATINGS IN THE DETERMINATION OF "GENERAL STANDING" AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

by Louis A. Plocht

Sociologists have long been interested in two specific but interrelated aspects of the social structure of rural life: (1) the status hierarchy existing in a particular community, and (2) the degree to which persons composing this hierarchy participate in the activities of the community. Two approaches have been widely used to obtain information of this type—measuring devices or scales, and ratings by judges.

Despite the validity or reliability of a scale, obtaining data by this method generally entails house-to-house visiting. Such a technique can be costly in terms of both time and money; the judges' rating technique is more economical. The research results reported here raise the question whether the judges technique might be profitably employed more often.

As part of a case-study analysis¹ of the social participation of 26 selected respondents² in a central New York community, eight community residents were asked to rate the original respondents according to their general standing and their degree of

¹Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

²The project, of which the results reported here are a part, is a unit in the continuing research in the fields of rural community and rural social organization being conducted by the Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University. The project leader is W. W. Reeder. The author wishes to thank the latter, as well as Olaf F. Larson, for critical reading of this paper.

³The respondents, all male, were selected to represent four modal classes of persons according to a combination of socio-economic status and formal participation factors. These classes were (1) high socio-economic status-high formal participation, (2) high socio-economic status-low formal participation, (3) low socio-economic status-high formal participation, and (4) low socio-economic status-low formal participation. The classes tended to blend into each other so that the group represents an approximate sample of the community residents according to the selected criteria.

activity and interest in the community. The ratings on general community standing were obtained by first presenting to each judge 26 small, white, randomly shuffled cards. On each card was typed the name of one of the respondents in the study. The researcher next placed three blue cards, numbered "1," "2," and "3," on a table in front of the judge. He was then read the following:

Would you please rank the persons whose names are on these cards according to their general standing in the community?

If you could divide the people of the community into three groups according to their general standing in the community, into which of the three categories would these people fall?

Place those you think have the highest general standing in the community under card "1," those with the next highest standing under card "2," and the remainder under card "3."

After the judge had separated the cards into the three piles according to the above method, he was then read these additional instructions:

Now for each pile, will you attempt to order these people according to their general standing in the community? Put that person first who has the highest standing in the community, and so on down the line, until you have placed each person in the group.

When a judge asked what was meant by "general standing," the usual reply was "whatever you and the people in the community mean by 'standing in the community'—the way in which you judge people." This explanation, or a slight variation of it, seemed to reassure any doubtful judge.

Judges were selected mainly on the basis of their assumed knowledge of the community and its inhabitants. Because the original respondents were selected from a large centralized school district rather than from a single functional community, it was difficult to find judges who were sufficiently acquainted with all of the respondents to rate them competently. One respondent living on the periphery of the community was not rated by any of the judges. Among the six male judges were a farmer, a school custodian, an insurance agent, a manager of a farmers' cooperative store, a school teacher, and the assistant postmaster. The two women judges were housewives.

In order to obtain a composite judges' rating for each of the respondents, the following procedure was employed. Each re-

spondent was assigned a rank-rating on the basis of 100 for each judge who rated him. For example, if a particular judge ranked 21 of the respondents, each of those persons rated was assigned a rank-rating equivalent to five times his numerical position in the ranking, proceeding from the lowest to the highest position. Thus, for this judge's rating the highest-ranked person would receive a rank-rating of 5 times 20, or 100. The lowest-ranked person would receive a rank-rating of 5 times 0, or 0. The ratings of the eight judges were then combined, also on the basis of 100, so that each respondent had a composite judges' rating within the range of 0 to 100.³

When the combined rank-ratings of the respondents were related to the corresponding Sewell Scale scores⁴ (also equated on the basis of 100), the rank order correlation between the two was .86. The high correspondence between the composite judges' rating and the Sewell score indicates the following, at least for this sample:

1. There is a marked similarity between socio-economic status as measured by the Sewell Scale and the community judges' rating of the respondents relative "general standing" in the community.
2. Whatever the Sewell Scale actually "measures," it is approximately concomitant with what the judges consider to be "general standing" in the community.
3. The close association between the Sewell Scale and what community judges consider to be "general standing" in the community raises the possibility that the scale may be a more valid method of determining status than some have supposed.⁵

The other rating of the judges showed an even higher association with a scale. To have the judges make the second rating, they were first handed an identical set of randomly shuffled cards. They were then read the following statement:

Using the same procedure as before, would you please rank these people from the standpoint of being active and interested in the organizations, activities, and affairs of the community?

³ For an example of similar methodology, see Otis Dudley Duncan and Jay W. Artis, *Social Stratification in a Pennsylvania Rural Community*, Pa. AES Bull. 543 (Oct., 1951).

⁴ The short form of the Sewell Socioeconomic Status Scale was used. See W. H. Sewell, "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socioeconomic Status Scale," *Rural Sociology*, VIII:2 (June, 1943), pp. 161-170.

⁵ See J. C. Belcher, "Evaluation and Restandardization of Sewell's Socio-economic Scale," *Rural Sociology*, XVI:3 (Sept., 1951), pp. 246-255.

These ratings were averaged and combined by use of the method described for general standing. When the rating for each respondent was compared with his total participation score⁶ (also equated on the basis of 100), a very marked correspondence was noted. *Rho* for these rankings is .90.

Such a high degree of correspondence between an individual's actual participation and a composite judges' rating of that par-

ticipation is evidence that the judges in this study were able to identify an individual's participation with considerable accuracy. If studies continue to validate the findings reported here, great economies can be made in measuring relative social status and participation rank.⁷

⁶ The total participation score consists of the respondent's combined score on formal, semiformal, and informal participation. To determine the formal participation score, a three-point intensity criterion was used; for the other two aspects of participation, a two-point intensity criterion was used.

⁷ Among the published studies which have indicated the relationship between socio-economic status and/or social participation and judges' ratings are: Duncan and Artis, *op. cit.*, p. 25; W. A. Anderson and H. E. Smith, *Eight Case Illustrations of Low Formal Participation*, Cornell University, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Mimeo. Bull. 39 (July, 1953); and H. F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, Cornell AES Memoir 260 (Mar., 1944).

[Research Notes Continued on Next Page]

NEIGHBORHOODS IN ILLINOIS

by D. E. Lindstrom†

A few studies have been made purporting to prove the neighborhood to be outmoded and no longer a significant group in rural society. Nevertheless it may be pointed out that the concept has wide acceptance and use in rural and urban sociology,¹ and that the term is used by people in both rural and urban areas and when so used usually means the *immediate locality* in which they live. The concept was found valuable in Illinois studies relating to school-district reorganization, as an important guide for the location of natural community boundaries of new community-unit school districts. The method used in Illinois to "bound" neighborhoods was based primarily on whom farm people called their neighbors. The steps taken were (1) to find out from the county extension agents, the county superintendent of schools, members of the county Farm Bureau board, and similar community leaders the names of

one or two people in each country school district² who were long-term residents in these districts; (2) to get each of these persons to list and locate on a plat map³ those whom he considered neighbors; (3) with the help of county and local leaders, to "bound" and name the neighborhoods (by "bound" is meant to draw lines on a plat map along the outer boundaries of farms included in the neighborhood grouping); and (4) to determine, with the help of the leaders, the community of which the neighborhood is a "natural" part. The neighborhood maps presented in this study are the result of this method of mapping.

PIKE COUNTY NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES

Figure 1 shows the results of the mapping of neighborhoods in Pike County. A total of 155 neighborhoods were "bounded."

¹ Illinois is one of the states in which a large number of one-room school districts were organized, most of them being organized before or near the middle of the last century. In the period when the citizens of a particular neighborhood were encouraged by law to voluntarily organize their own districts; hence, the district lines were in reality neighborhood-group boundaries.

² These plat maps show the legal boundaries of every plat or acreage of land, with the name of the owner usually written in over the plat owned.

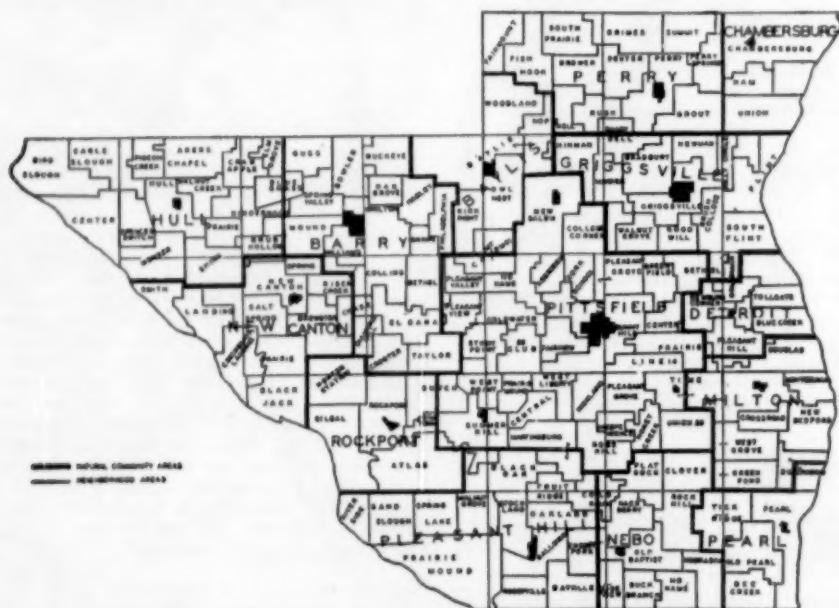


FIGURE 1. NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES, PIKE COUNTY, ILLINOIS

†University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

¹ See Robert L. Sutherland et al., *Introductory Sociology* (New York: Lippincott, 1952), pp. 316-317; J. C. McCormick, *Sociology* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1950), pp. 367-372; and others too numerous to mention.

These neighborhoods belonged, in whole or in part, to 14 communities. When it came to drawing community boundaries for purposes of school-district reorganization, however, only four centers—Pittsfield, Barry, Pleasant Hill, and Griggsville—could be looked upon as being large enough to meet the specifications in the law.⁴

It is evident that the boundaries of the neighborhoods on the outer margins of each community approximately coincide with the community boundaries. There are exceptions, however, for it can be seen that the

community boundaries cut across some of the neighborhood boundaries. This would indicate that "boundary" neighborhoods can be divided by the attraction of two or more community centers.

FAYETTE COUNTY NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES

Figure 2 is the neighborhood-community map of Fayette County. Figure 3, which shows the newly formed community-unit school districts of the county, is presented to show the comparison of the natural boundaries as determined by the method described above, and the community bound-

⁴ The state law, enacted in 1947, stipulated that a community-unit school district must have at least 2,000 population and \$6,000,000 assessed valuation.

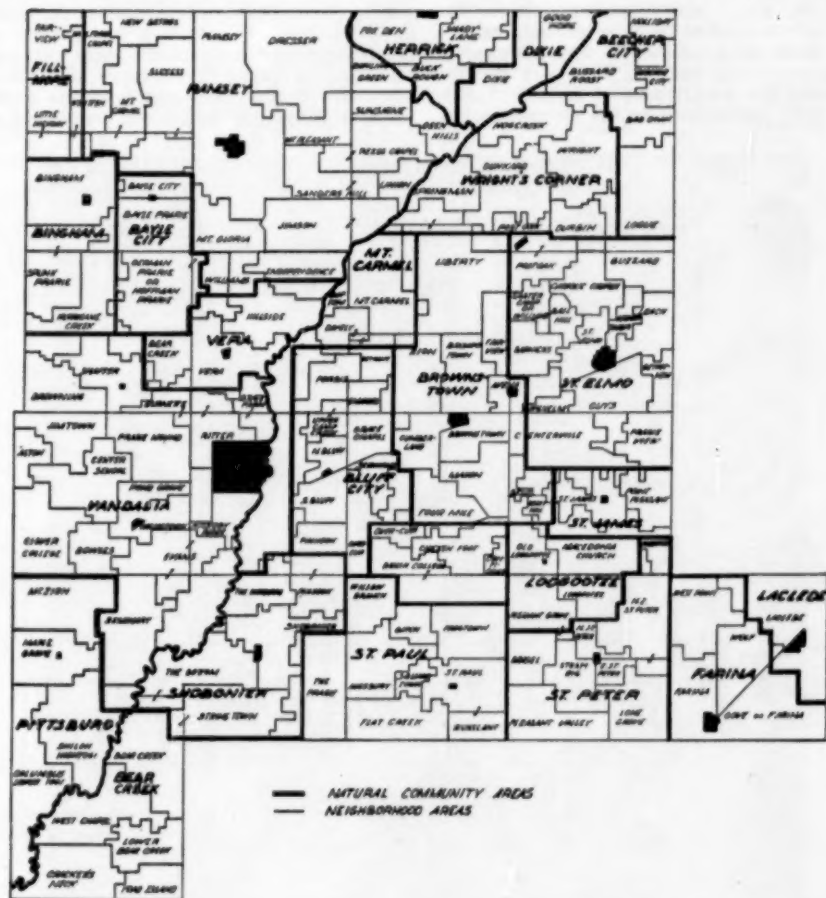


FIGURE 2. NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES, FAYETTE COUNTY, ILLINOIS, 1943

aries as determined by petitioners who set up the community-school districts. Boundaries were still in flux when the map for Figure 3 was made. Because of community loyalties and habits of trade, and because property owners living in a fluid boundary area often try to choose the community in which tax rates are likely to be lower, many otherwise "solid" neighborhoods were divided by the new school-district boundaries. In most instances, however, the new community-school-district lines did follow or approximate neighborhood-boundary lines.

The struggle on the part of the small town to keep its high school is illustrated by the case of Brownstown (population of 649 in 1950), which came into conflict with both St. Elmo and Vandalia relative to territory it needed to have enough valuation to make possible the formation of a community-unit district. This case also illustrates the significance of neighborhoods and their boundaries in the determination

of community boundaries. The original community high-school boundaries, established a number of years ago, split at least three of the neighborhoods along the north-south township line. This caused dissension and controversy at the time. Had neighborhood boundaries been taken into account in the establishment of school-district boundaries when the original community high-school districts were formed, much of the present controversy would not have taken place.

MCHEHRY COUNTY NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES

The neighborhood-community map of McHenry county is shown in Figure 4. It shows only one large community wholly within the county—the community centered at Woodstock. People in a few groups of neighborhoods designated such smaller localities as Union, Greenwood, and Ringwood as communities; and even the small place of Ridgfield was called a community

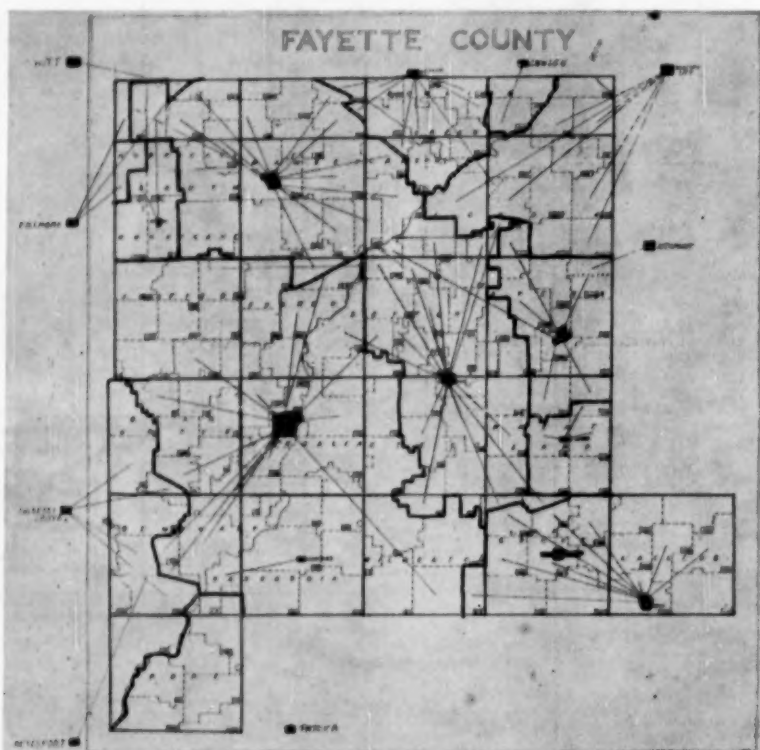


FIGURE 3. COMMUNITY-UNIT SCHOOL DISTRICTS, FAYETTE COUNTY, ILLINOIS

by the people living there. The larger communities on or near the county line were Harvard, Marengo, Huntley, Algonquin, Crystal Lake, McHenry, Richmond, and Hebron. These and Woodstock probably were the "key" centers around which community-unit school districts might have been formed. Only one community-unit district, however, was subsequently formed. This was in the Harvard area, and its boundaries approximate those shown in Figure 4, except that the Chemung community was incorporated into the district because it was too small to have a district of its own. The Alden community, also too small to meet the conditions of the school law, saw fit to join with Hebron to form the Alden-Hebron Community Consolidated District for high-

school purposes; and an elementary district for the Alden-Hebron area was formed with boundaries identical with those of the high-school district.

Without question, the country school district had an important part to play in the formation of the neighborhoods in the county. The new forces of tax differentials, ease of travel, and the attraction of the larger community centers have doubtless had their effect on the natural neighborhoods. But the fact that they could be delineated, even in such a county as McHenry, indicates that they exist—though they may be dormant. It is apparent that their delineation can be useful in determining new areas for social administration or functioning, such as in the formation of rural community schools.

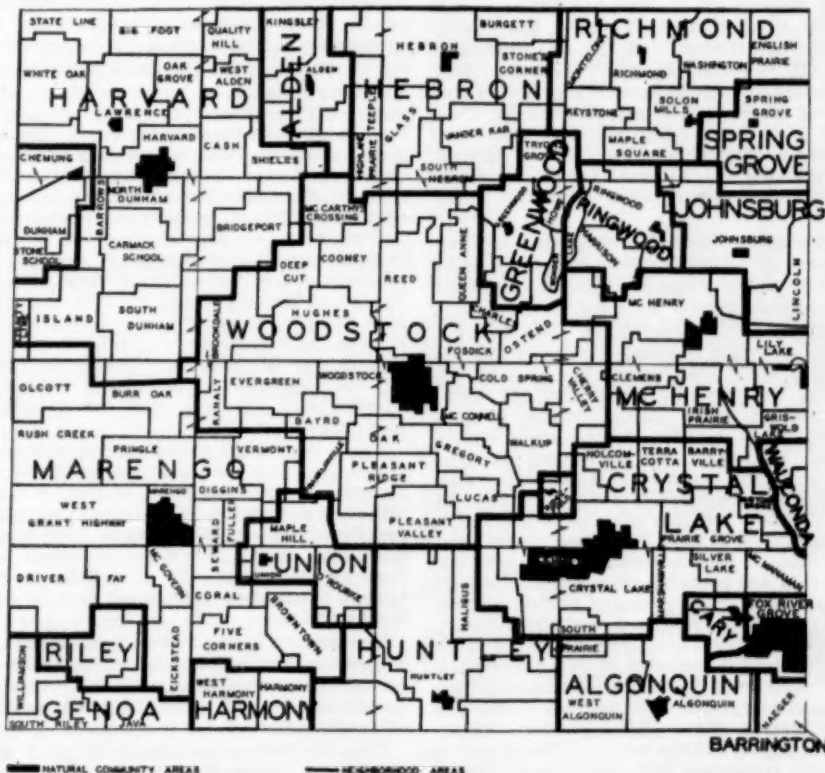


FIGURE 4. NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES, MCHENRY COUNTY, ILLINOIS

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Eugene A. Wilkening

Rural Social Systems and Adult Education.

A committee report by Charles P. Loomis, chairman, and J. Allan Beegle, editor. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953. Pp. viii + 392. \$5.00.

When Loomis and Beegle published their *Rural Social Systems* in 1950, the reviewer in *Rural Sociology* remarked (and the present writer agrees) that "It is undoubtedly a little advanced as a text for beginners," but that the time has come "to project them [students] beyond the intellectual levels necessary for counting screened porches, electric lights, and outdoor privies." Now come Loomis et al., (Michigan State and USDA staffers: Beegle, Leonard, Longmore, Lowry, Matthews, Nall, Preiss, Smucker, Carl C. Taylor, Thaden, Warncke, and Weidner), under the sponsorship and financing of the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities and The Fund for Adult Education (Ford Foundation), giving us a macro-research (nation-wide) study of the social interaction in American rural life.

An effort is made to measure the relative amount of activities and intergroup relations of organizations and agencies involved in adult education in rural areas (communities of 2,500-or-under population). Adult education is broadly conceived as including both the formal and informal—indeed, as involving practically all inter-influencing: from formal school courses for adults to services of the library, newspaper, and radio and television, to programs of farm organizations and civic clubs, to "action" programs of federal agencies in rural areas. All this mass of social interaction in rural life is broken down into activities of the different social systems, and data are collected on a representative-sample basis for the entire nation. These data are then analyzed and interpreted. Both the collection of the data and their analysis and interpretation are undertaken in a matrix of the conceptualizations developed in Loomis and Beegle's *Rural Social Systems*. The volume is styled a "committee report" (title page). The report is heavily supported with tables and charts; the data for these were gathered mostly by questionnaires, but sometimes supplementary material from interviews with key persons and from other first-hand sources of

information is used. One or more members of the committee were assigned to write up the material on particular social systems; for example, Carl C. Taylor and Wayne Rohrer prepared the chapter on "General Farmers' Organizations and Cooperatives."

The design of this study of adult-education activities in rural areas provides a focus throughout the project, namely, the observation of the relative amount of effort of these numerous agencies to communicate ideas and facts bearing on "three fields." These are: (1) strengthening democracy, (2) understanding and strengthening the economy, and (3) international understanding for peace. It will be noted that the emphasis is on nonvocational education, an emphasis possibly inspired by the underlying interest of one of the sponsoring groups.

To the student of rural sociology, this study will be of interest mostly because of the objective-factual exposition it provides of the operation of social systems and their interdependence in rural life. Measurement of the relative participation in adult education (which, as previously stated, is defined very broadly) enables the student to get a working conception of the web of relations and activities that is rural society. According to the findings (p. 323), the "Big 5" of these many agencies are the following, in order of significance: (1) farm organizations, (2) the schools, (3) the churches, (4) the Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service, and (5) civic and service clubs (Rotary, etc.).

Space does not permit a more inclusive review, but two sample instances of unique material covered in the study are: (1) the differences between the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant organizations in their objectives and means of influencing rural life (pp. 199-223); and (2) new data on the typical small-town newspaper and its editor (p. 301).

The authors are to be commended for the several appendices, which include material on sampling procedures utilized, copies of questionnaires and schedules used, and an orientation manual for the project.

This book contains much original and substantial material on the various segments of rural social structure and activities. Certainly every library in the nation should have on its shelves a copy of *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education*, if only

for reference to specific social systems in American rural life.

From the point of view of social science, this study (along with similar projects recently completed or now current) marks an era in the development of rural sociology. We have moved forward from counting bathtubs and privies (and the level of operating concepts this implies) to a more advanced conceptualization which now enables us to measure social interactions and group activities in communities!

ERNEST H. SHIDELER.

Department of Sociology and Anthropology,
University of Illinois.

Rural Reconstruction in Action: Experience in the Near and Middle East. By H. B. Allen. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1953. Pp. xviii + 204. \$3.50.

The author of this book, familiarly known as "Doc" Allen, is one of the veterans in rural reconstruction. His long experience as Director of Education of the Near East Foundation has given him a wealth of observations and a familiarity with several approaches to rural improvement. Now and then, some of his mature wisdom helps interpret the action being described in this book.

Essentially, however, this is the story of nine projects (in nine chapters) of rural reconstruction in eight Middle or Near Eastern countries (I, "Start by Improving Farming"; II, "Deal Promptly with Question of Health"; III, "Improve the Home Practices"; IV, "Include Recreation"; V, "Attack the Problem of Illiteracy"; VI, "Operate a Total Program"; VII, "Organize Farm Schools with Caution"; VIII, "Make the Rural School Rural"; IX, "Apply the Latest in Science"). The writer is careful to record, for almost every project, the steps which were followed from the decision to undertake it through the selection and preparation of leaders, establishing of rapport with the villagers, meeting unexpected problems as they arose, and, in some cases, terminating the project. As the titles above show, a number of approaches to rural reconstruction are discussed.

For those interested in the principles of rural reconstruction the last two chapters (X, "Develop Capable Leaders," and XI, "Make Haste Slowly") are most helpful, since they draw up in outline form some of the main points—particularly in leadership training—emerging from the analysis of the cases cited. Anyone involved in carry-

ing out rural programs of any sort would do well to consider these chapters seriously.

A book such as this raises an interesting question for a rural sociologist. Allen's approach is primarily educational, and he deals most lucidly with concrete behavior and achievements. Certainly through the years he must have formulated some conception of the social traits of a peasant society within which this reconstruction occurs, for here and there his insights indicate that he has a body of social as well as educational theory. A sociologist would be likely to urge that this theory be made explicit if the action is to be in proper focus. Apparently this point of view has not met with general acceptance, or a book such as this would have had at least one chapter on the relationship between the program of action and the social setting, since this would appear to be one of the main lessons learned by those who worked in these projects. The concept of the social does appear in the case descriptions, but usually as negative examples of what happens if it is ignored. When we sociologists do a better job of explaining our point of view, the social should be looked upon as an arena of action within which there are positive as well as negative factors for a sponsored program.

The raising of this question is no criticism of the book, which is well written for the audience—the men of action—it is supposed to reach. It is to be hoped that the time will come when sociological considerations will be made more explicit in discussions such as this, when more theory will guide the action, and when those who try to reconstruct a rural society will be urged to get a clear picture of that society so that they will know what principles to select for their work. After all, the wise selection of guiding principles is as important to success as their skillful observance in action.

IRWIN T. SANDERS.

Department of Sociology,
University of Kentucky.

Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area. By Leland G. Allbaugh. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1953. Pp. xx + 572. \$7.50.

This is the report of a study carried out by the Rockefeller Foundation in an effort to discover what kinds of assistance can be usefully given to underdeveloped areas, and in what ways. In the Foreword, comment is made concerning the fact that public and private organizations and industry in many lands are facing the urgent current prob-

lem of what is to be done about underdeveloped countries, the world over. If the concern is malevolent, the "helping hand" will be in terms of selfish interest without regard to injuries done the victim. But, even where motives are benevolent, haste and lack of sensitivity may cause irreparable damage. It is imperative, according to the study, that the problems of underdeveloped countries be clearly understood before overt moves are made to assist them.

This is no simple task because the term "underdeveloped" may describe the information available about a country, as well as its industrial status. Data readily accessible in more highly developed countries may be wholly lacking or, while apparently available, highly inaccurate.

The survey of Crete was pointed more specifically toward two objectives: first, toward answering the question whether it was possible and practicable to raise the levels of living; second, toward discovering ways by which the knowledge and skills of industrialized countries might best serve and least injure an underdeveloped area such as Crete.

Part I gives a brief summary of the survey methodology, basic economic and social problems, and possible lines of improvement. In Part II a detailed analysis is made of basic resources, the family, food and nutrition, health, community facilities, levels of living, government organization and its impact on the economy, agriculture, and industry and commerce. Part III presents a detailed description of the methodology used. Charts, graphs, tables, and maps are used extensively and effectively to supplement the textual materials.

The author points out that it is difficult to find the answers to the questions concerning how to increase levels of living in a country like Crete, because of the limited amount of accurate basic data about the country. This, of course, is true of many of the underdeveloped areas of the world. To offset the limitations of conventional sources of information, sample communities were selected. In those communities, sample households were selected—one out of every one hundred and fifty on the island. In addition to the survey materials, the author and his co-workers gained much information through an almost exhaustive review of the literature; through field reconnaissance; and from interviews with government officials, physicians, and other professional persons.

Considerable stress was laid on methodology with the idea that, even if usable

data were not obtained, still the study could set the pattern for surveys of additional foreign countries. The reviewer is of the opinion that the study has made a real contribution in this regard.

The author has done an admirable job of presenting a wealth of information and facts about the country, and on a very broad subject-matter basis. Previous books in this field, with few exceptions, have dealt with only one segment of a country's economy. This study makes a contribution not only because of its original data but also by analyzing the interrelatedness of the various components of the Crete culture and economy in terms of potential economic and social development. If an analysis as thorough and complete as the Crete study could be made in all the underdeveloped countries with which the United States is cooperating in technical assistance, the program could be made more effective.

The study, although presenting a great deal of information capably analyzed, falls short of achieving part of its two basic objectives. The second objective was pointed "toward discovering ways by which the knowledge and skills of industrialized countries might best serve and least injure an underdeveloped area such as Crete." This is a complex problem. The author points out certain philosophical approaches that are extremely important, such as the concept "that the only enduring help is self-help," and that "foremost concern must be human beings, their values, and their way of life." But there is very little in the way of concrete suggestions that would lead a group of program people to the accomplishment of this second objective of the study. In spite of this, however, the study is a real contribution to both program people and social scientists.

GLEN L. TAGGART.

Department of Sociology and Anthropology,
Michigan State College.

The Study of Culture at a Distance. Edited by Margaret Mead and Rhoda Métraux. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. x + 480. \$5.00.

Rural sociologists who anticipate a foreign assignment will find this manual quite valuable. If even a small fraction of the kind of preliminary exploratory study of the culture described is conducted prior to departure, it will go a long way toward making possible optimum use of the usually limited period abroad. The manual consists of articles and excerpts from documents taken from the Columbia University Research in Contemporary Cultures and writ-

ten by numerous authors, including Gorer, Belo, Leites, Wolfenstein, Bateson, Hsu, Benedict, and others. These range from transcripts of exploratory discussions by the project staff to abstract theoretical discussions of conceptual schema and are based on French, Russian, German, Chinese, Jewish, Thai, Syrian, Polish, Rumanian, and American materials. Almost half of the material consists of preliminary research papers and transcripts of group discussions and interviews designed to illustrate the technique of analysis. The analysis of films, projective tests, imagery, and written and oral literature is discussed. Whether or not such materials are used, the core of the method is long, detailed, intimate interviews with native informants in the country. The amount of explicit instruction regarding how to do this is surprisingly small, but the illustrations are excellent.

An important consideration in the use of this manual lies in the need to bear in mind constantly that the techniques presented are primarily suited to *exploratory* research—something which the authors' style does not encourage. The reader must not succumb to the numerous statements and implications that the techniques outlined are the only valid ones for the study of culture. If he does, he will find himself committed to a series of fundamental methodological errors, most of which grow out of what appears to be a conception of science as primarily *fact gathering* rather than *hypothesis testing*.

Assuming that the reader is sufficiently warned, only criticisms applicable to the use of the manual for exploratory research will be presented: (1) The concept of "holistic analysis," which is central to the manual, is nowhere explicitly defined. More important, the use of the term is such as to give the impression that it means "study everything"—something which is not only foolish, but manifestly impossible. (2) Although the value of intensive unstructured work with informants is not to be denied, the authors' statements concerning the relative uselessness of brief, fully structured interviews, projective tests, and even the much criticized personality inventories, are not borne out by this reviewer's experience. (3) The interpretation of films, novels, etc., is based on highly disputable Freudian assumptions. Most sociologists would find a more literal social-interaction approach more plausible. (4) Even the most superficial review of the field-work literature will show the falsity of Gorer's assertion that deviations from the culturally recognized child-rearing practices are "rel-

atively slight" in all societies. (5) The idyllic picture of the smooth functioning of interdisciplinary research groups which follow Mead's prescription for organization and conceptual equipment is not supported by independent observers of the Research in Contemporary Cultures nor by several passages in the manual (notably Part 6D of Appendix A).

Unfortunately a brief review can do justice neither to the assets nor to the liabilities of the manual—both of which are numerous and important. What has been said, however, should be sufficient to indicate that, when used with caution, the techniques expounded can prove of great value in the exploratory and preliminary study of a culture, either at a distance or close up.

MURRAY A. STRAUS.

Department of Rural Sociology,
University of Wisconsin.

Amazon Town: A Study of Man in the Tropics. By Charles Wagley. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953. Pp. xi + 305. \$5.00.

This study supplies detailed, analytical data on the social and cultural life of a village, selected as a "laboratory for the study of regional culture as it is lived out by one group of Amazon people." The author makes no claim for its being typical of the vast Amazon region, and he could well be correct in assuming that because of its location—at the mouth of the Amazon River—it reflects, as well as any other that might have been selected, the general pattern of culture that characterizes the region.

The methodology used is ethnographic, with special emphasis upon such standardized elements of local culture as family, community, and sets of everyday activities, which make up the chapters of the book. The chapters vary considerably in both length and quality. Among the more carefully and completely done are: "Making a Living in the Tropics," "Social Relations in an Amazon Community," and "Family Affairs in an Amazon Community." Each of these chapters includes numerous descriptive accounts of activities, a variety of case material, and frequent conclusions about the data. Some of the cases (such as the one involving the somewhat tragic courtship of Maria and Raimundo) reflect careful and competent probing into the many social pressures, personal tensions, and intergroup conflicts that accompany such an event in a small, compact, and highly integrated grouping.

A welcome, if somewhat isolated, chapter is the first, which re-hashes much of the more serious material and theories regarding the adaptability of man, especially the European, to life in the wet tropics. After sifting pertinent data from both the social and the physical sciences, the author, not unexpectedly, concludes that "The main reasons why the Amazon Valley is today a backward and underdeveloped area must be sought in Amazon culture and society . . ." and that " . . . the physical environment is not the most serious obstacle to its eventual development and to higher standards of living for its inhabitants."

Clearly the most controversial chapter of the book is the last, where the author shifts from his description of life in *Amazon Town* to a description of the role of the anthropologist in bringing about change in a community of an underdeveloped area, a brief analysis of the major social and economic problems both of the village and of rural life in Brazil as a whole, and a comparison of living in *Amazon Town* with life in James West's well-known *Plainville*.

Most of the problems depicted for *Amazon Town* would be among those generally recognized by students of the so-called underdeveloped areas—problems such as poverty, high rates of illiteracy, high birth and death rates, a one-crop agricultural system, lack of adequate medical and health facilities, a poor educational system, and lack of transportation and communication systems. The fundamental problem, the author concludes—and certainly few would take issue—is the introduction of social and cultural change which will improve or alleviate these conditions. It is the author's opinion that these problems " . . . cannot be solved by individual communities Each of them depends upon social and economic change within the region and within the nation—and even upon international events and relations." A plea is made for economic and technical assistance for the region. "They cannot cure their ills without scientific knowledge and personnel which they do not have." And this technical assistance should be given so that " . . . many of the positive values of Brazilian national culture . . . " would be "cherished and protected in the face of social change" This, then, becomes a social engineering feat of no small magnitude.

In summary, this is a vivid, readable, and commendable account of life in the tropics, which one senses as authentic from cover to cover. It is a book that deserves careful reading by all who are interested in area

studies. Its value will be enhanced in the future when this vast region, of which *Amazon Town* is a part, will be carefully appraised as to its potential for relieving pressures that will surely be created by Brazil's rapidly increasing population.

OLEN E. LEONARD.

Department of Sociology and Anthropology,
Michigan State College.

The United States and India and Pakistan.

By W. Norman Brown. Cambridge,
Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953.
Pp. x + 308. \$4.50.

W. Norman Brown's *The United States and India and Pakistan* is one of the volumes in the American Foreign Policy Library being edited by Donald C. McKay for the Harvard University Press. The scope is broad; an attempt is made " . . . to point out the major forces affecting human development in India and Pakistan now, the circumstances that have called them into existence, the sources of their power among the people, the specific issues on which they are operating, the problems which the two nations have to solve" (Foreword). An introductory survey of the land, the water, the people, and the culture precedes masterly summary statements of the traditional heritage and the effects of British rule; the movement toward the achievement of independence with its correlates of division, flight, and conflict; and the great adjustments and problems of the present in politics, education and communication, population and production, foreign affairs, and relations with the United States.

Neither general sociologists, rural sociologists, demographers nor economists will find here definitive analyses of problems or summaries of research in their specific fields. For those who follow sociological research in the village communities of Asia or struggle with problems of culture contact and social change, however, the reviewer cannot recommend too strongly that they read Brown's work on India and Pakistan. The studies of minor areas or of fragments of interaction become more comprehensible against the background of socio-political forces and conflicts that are products not just, or even chiefly, of the British period, but of millennia of a complex and often great cultural evolution. Optimism and pessimism alike concerning present programs of community advance and agricultural improvement will be muted by the total picture in historical perspective.

It hardly need be added that the series, of which W. Norman Brown's book consti-

tutes a part, is recommended to rural sociologists in their individual capacities as citizens of a world which is not yet a community.

IRENE B. TAEUBER.

Office of Population Research,
Princeton University.

Agriculture in Asia and the Far East. Report and Working Papers, FAO Regional Meeting, Bangalore, India, July 1953. Rome: United Nations, 1953. Pp. 163. \$1.00.

This is a report on the development of, and outlook for, agriculture in Asia and the Far East. Its first part includes statements by the delegations to the regional meeting of the Food and Agriculture Organization, at Bangalore, India, in July of 1953, on the current food and agricultural situation in their respective countries. Summaries of the agricultural situations in Australia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, Thailand, and Vietnam, are given, together with statements from French, Netherlands, United Kingdom, and United States representatives about their interests in the area. These are followed by a description of the work of FAO in the region, and a review of the agricultural development policies worked out. Next come the text of resolutions adopted by the meeting, and a listing of delegates and other personnel attending.

The second part of the report includes the working papers, prepared by FAO, that formed the basis for the discussions. The papers consider first the general over-all food and economic situation and the agricultural development plans for the region. Following this are papers on production targets; development of land and water resources; programs for crop and livestock improvement; fisheries development; forestry and forestry products; market price, and credit policies; and methods of reaching the farmer. These contain valuable information for persons who want to keep up with this region.

The rural sociologist is interested in this report because of the light it throws on the welfare of the people of this region. While the report makes clear that many improvements have been made in the agriculture, it is repeatedly stated that the region is still very much in a deficit food situation and can emerge only gradually therefrom. While the meeting was not concerned directly with the population problem, it was impossible to avoid pointing out that, in spite of the accomplishments, population had increased faster than food resources in

the region since the war, and food resources per person remain as much as ten per cent lower than before the war.

In an attempt to meet these situations, resolutions were adopted stressing the necessity for: a training center to develop experimental designs and surveys to get the facts more adequately; careful review of the rice situation, and promotion of storage and processing; stimulation, through government, of production and distribution of milk and other high protein foods; technical assistance for expanding fishing resources; promotion of capital investment in expanding agricultural production; development of studies on price policies, land programs, and export prices. The final "wind-up" statement is that "the most serious hindrance to the agricultural development of the region was the shortage of trained personnel at all levels."

W. A. ANDERSON.

Department of Rural Sociology,
Cornell University.

Community Health Action. By Paul A. Miller. East Lansing, Mich.: State College Press, 1953. Pp. 192. \$3.00.

Paul Miller has given us an interesting book in which he successfully combines extension and depth in social science reporting. It is a difficult thing to report the results of a study of "218 successful community efforts to acquire hospitals" and not lose sight of the groups and individuals who made the effort. Miller has solved this problem by rather skillfully combining statistics, individual community case studies, and excerpts of color from journal materials gathered in a process of interviewing community citizens and leaders.

Beginning with a generalized view of study methods and procedures (which gets one off to a somewhat slow start), the author moves into an equally large-scope discussion of community hospital-building programs. The focus then narrows to a series of regional (within the nation) comparisons and differentiations: Voluntary sponsorship of hospital development was higher in the Northeast than in two southern regions; businessmen were almost universally "high ranked participants" in each of six regions; and the number of total participants was highest in those projects located in the Northeast. The regional focus gives perspective to the whole study, and is dropped, in due course, to pick up individual community settings. It is here that Miller strikes "pay dirt."

The individual community settings give substance to the many figures cited in the

text. One begins to see people move as individuals in two's or three's, or in more complex groups toward the single goal of getting a hospital. In the "Midstate" community, for example, at first "the hospital . . . was actually the project of one man" Starting with this one man, a newspaper editor, Miller shows us the involvement of a great many other persons in arriving at a community goal. This and similar illustrative case information for other communities gives the depth dimension to the statistical data.

Community organizers and health educators, as well as social scientists, will find very interesting materials in this book. Rural sociologists and civic workers will be especially interested in the county context in which some of the communities are described. For all, there may be a little digging involved, due to the complexity of the subject, but the results are worth the effort.

FLOYD HUNTER.

School of Social Work,
University of North Carolina.

Facial Deformities and Plastic Surgery: A Psychosocial Study. By Frances Cooke Macgregor, Theodora M. Abel, Albert Bryt, Edith Lauer, and Serena Weissmann. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1953. Pp. xv + 230. \$5.75.

This volume, printed and bound in the best tradition of medical books, reports the results of a project conducted in the Departments of Psychiatry and Surgery in the College of Medicine at New York University. The book deals with the social, psychological, and psychiatric aspects of facial deformity, and the role played by plastic surgery as a remedial agency. The project, supported by the National Institute of Mental Health, ran from April, 1949, to September, 1951, and was coordinated by Frances Cooke Macgregor, sociologist. The study was based upon 74 cases—persons who had approached the clinic at Bellevue Hospital or who had consulted a private physician regarding their problem of facial deformity.

In the report, each aspect of the problem is discussed by a specialist. Following four case histories (with photographs), each representing a different degree of severity of facial deformity, the chapter on psychosocial aspects is presented by Macgregor, the chapter on family background by Lauer, the psychological aspects by Abel and Weissman, and the psychiatric aspects by Bryt.

This book is likely to be well received because, with a scientific, clinical approach,

it opens up a field in which medical science, psychiatry, psychology, and sociology can cooperate to alleviate a problem of some significance. Among other things, the study shows the high value placed upon facial appearance in our society. As a criterion of acceptance, facial appearance must rate very high. People seem inclined to identify facial characteristics with cultural traits, and particularly to identify unconventional facial characteristics with undesirable cultural traits. The study reveals, also, that many superstitions are held regarding the causes of such deformity, and the authors believe these views lead readily to the conclusion that the deformity is the direct cause of any deviant behavior noted. A poll of the attitudes of "normal" persons toward facially deformed persons, based on showing the respondents photographs of such persons, shows how bad their judgments can be. Little wonder that school boards want to hire a "pretty" teacher!

As might be expected, the authors conclude that before teen age the significance attributed to facial deformity by the victim is determined chiefly by the victim's family. As the mating age approaches, the victim becomes more sensitive. There are mental and emotional disturbance, resort to devices to lessen the stare of others, and a tendency to withdraw from public view. Clearly, facial deformity provides a threat to social acceptance, and to the mental health and competence of the victim. In many cases, surgery provides at least a partial solution.

The study readily stimulates speculation. For example, the project dealt only with cases in which the victim of facial deformity was sufficiently disturbed to seek surgery as a relief measure. Did these cases represent merely the more sensitive personalities? What correlation, if any, exists between the victims' concern and the type or the severity of the deformity, or both? Should not the social significance of facial deformities, generally, be studied next? Also, what about other types of physical deformity? To what extent do they influence social acceptance and thereby threaten the mental stability and general competence of the victim? The reviewer hopes that this field will be further explored.

C. E. LIVELY.

Department of Rural Sociology,
University of Missouri.

Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality." Edited by Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda.

Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954.
Pp. 279. \$4.50.

Among the major impacts on the social sciences at mid-century, that of *The Authoritarian Personality* is almost without rival. Only *The American Soldier* and perhaps the Kinsey reports on *Sexual Behavior* are anywhere near comparable with it in scope, recognition, and influence. Written by T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswick, and other senior authors and collaborators, *The Authoritarian Personality* was published by Harper and Brothers in 1950. This monumental work was based on a five-year study which, starting as an investigation of anti-Semitism, developed into a large-scale research on the relationships between deep-seated personality characteristics as independent variables, and prejudice and political outlooks as dependent variables.

The volume on *Scope and Method*, the subject of the present review, is designed to promote continuity in social science research. It constitutes a thoroughgoing evaluation and critique of *The Authoritarian Personality* from several points of view and by well-qualified writers, including one of the senior authors of the original book.

A satisfactory review of this critique must necessarily begin with some review of the parent book. Its great objective was to explain prejudice, discrimination, and political ideologies in terms of basic trends in the human personality. Its theoretical approach was mainly that of psychoanalysis. Its major hypothesis was that anti-Semitism and ethnocentrism are traits of a definite personality type called "authoritarian." Its methods included the development and administration of four Likert-type scales to measure the dependent attitude variables. These included the F scale (fascism or authoritarianism), the E scale (ethnocentrism), the A-S scale (anti-Semitism), and the PEC scale (political and economic conservatism). High and low scorers on the E scale were subjected to intensive personality assessment with clinical-type interviews supplemented with projective tests. Subjects for this elaborate study were some 2,000 persons including students, middle-class adults, some working-class adults, some prisoners, and some psychiatric patients—all in the San Francisco Bay area, the locus of the research. The central conclusion was that there exists a specific type of person, called the "authoritarian personality," characterized by a complex of traits among which are rigidity,

ethnocentrism, conservatism, and strong tendencies toward prejudice.

Studies in the Scope and Method is a summary of four years of criticisms and extensions of the original work. It is second in a series of critiques of major social science works, the first being devoted to the well-known *American Soldier*. This latest volume is composed of six different papers, including an introduction by Marie Jahoda.

The first critical essay, by Edward A. Shils, points up what he considers to be two conceptual fallacies in *The Authoritarian Personality*. First, the authors failed to recognize that the traditional belief in the right-left continuum of political attitudes is obsolete. They erred in using this continuum as a conceptual tool and in describing the authoritarian of the right while practically ignoring the authoritarian of the left. Second, they assumed that the prevalence of authoritarians in a society is predictive with respect to an effective fascist movement. But, Shils says, authoritarians are needed to fulfill certain roles in all political systems, including that of liberal democracy.

The sharpest and apparently most damning criticism is pointed at *The Authoritarian Personality* by two public-opinion research experts, H. H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley. Their 72 tightly packed pages constitute a masterful methodological critique which should be required reading for all who do research in this and related fields. These authors raise serious questions about the soundness of the research procedures and the interpretation of results. They show that the population studied and the sampling method used make many of the authors' generalizations untenable, and they show how sampling biases were introduced. They point to spurious correlations between the attitude scales due to overlapping item content. They are particularly sharp in their criticism of the probable interviewer bias introduced by forearming the interviewers with full knowledge of respondents' scale scores and of the hypotheses being tested. Blind coding was practiced, but uselessly, since bias was already allowed in the interviewing stage. In the analysis of data, a further weakness appears in the failure to control formal education and other factors that may influence the correlation between personality and prejudice. Finally, the authors committed grave errors in drawing unwarranted conclusions on the basis of their own inferences and theoretical slants.

The third essay, by Richard Christie, reviews the more important follow-up researches inspired by *The Authoritarian Personality* since its publication. A number of ingenious studies are reviewed. In general these tend to confirm the main finding of the original study.

The fourth essay, by Harold D. Lasswell, discusses the selective effect of personality on political participation. Looking forward, he develops a set of hypotheses regarding political leaders of democratic and authoritarian leanings. These require interprofessional research involving political scientists and social psychologists.

Finally, Else Frenkel-Brunswik elaborates some of the ideas in the original volume, and reports progress in new investigations with children. She finds confirmation of the central thesis of *The Authoritarian Personality* both in her own recent work and also in the writings of the Nazi psychologist, Jaensch.

From the unrestrained criticisms embodied in this volume, the concepts and methods of the parent volume take a full beating. Still, *The Authoritarian Personality* stands as a social science landmark and a classic in the field of social psychology. It will continue to inspire and facilitate streams of research into personality factors in prejudice and political beliefs. This, if nothing else, provides sound justification for the time, effort, and money that went into its making and publication.

A. R. MANGUS.

Department of Sociology,
The Ohio State University.

Sample Survey Methods and Theory. Vol. I: *Methods and Applications*; Vol. II: *Theory*. By Morris H. Hansen, William M. Hurwitz, and William G. Madow. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1953. Vol. I: Pp. xxii + 638. \$8.00. Vol. II: Pp. xiii + 325. \$7.00.

After wading through these two volumes, this reviewer longs for the good old days when sampling was really "simple" and certainly went no further than stratified random sampling. Now we have, as these volumes show, some "more complex sample designs" involving all sorts of combinations of several methods including simple random sampling, stratified sampling, cluster sampling, systematic sampling, and multi-stage sampling, along with various estimating procedures. For example, the authors cite one case illustration, that of making an estimate of the labor force, which "involves the stratification of clusters, the sampling of

clusters within strata, the sampling of small clusters within selected larger clusters, and, in some instances, the sampling of dwelling units from the selected small clusters. Different types of probability samples are drawn at each stage. Ratio estimates are used. Thus . . . all methods described in this chapter are employed in a single problem."

In other words, these two volumes cover just about all of the recently developed sample survey methods and theory suitable particularly for large-scale surveys such as the authors have had experience with under the auspices of the United States Bureau of the Census.

Those research workers who never expect to become sampling experts will profit greatly by reading the first three chapters of Volume I. These chapters cover, in non-mathematical terms: basic and elementary sampling principles, biases and nonsampling errors in survey results, and sampling designs for some common sampling problems. Then, in subsequent chapters, the authors lead the student into deeper water, teaching him gradually to use the more complicated statistical swimming strokes.

After reading the section on simple random sampling (chap. 4), in which the reader is introduced to basic concepts, notation system, and even ratio estimates, one begins to wonder what distinction the authors make between "application" and "theory." Nevertheless, for anyone who has mastered elementary algebra and some statistics, chapter 4 is easy to follow and interesting to read. It is in this chapter that the student finds that the authors do not hesitate to coin new words, use certain symbols in ways strange to older texts, and courageously set up new but practical formulae. The authors, for example, use S^2 to denote variance, but V^2 to denote the coefficient of variation, the relative variance, or "rel-variance"—that is, the ratio of the variance to the mean or to any other value being estimated.

Chapter 5 goes deeply into stratified simple random sampling, including ratio estimates and optimum allocation to sample strata in order to maximize reliability and minimize costs. Incidentally, it is in chapter 5 that an outstanding and commendable characteristic of this work becomes strongly evident. The completeness, the detail, and the quality of the exposition reflect the wide practical experience of the authors. As a result they can say when the statistician can use with confidence certain approximations to exact mathematical formulae. Then, too, the authors use many ex-

amples based on real problems and are thus able to make practical suggestions regarding sampling techniques.

Subsequent chapters describe in detail and develop the sampling variance formulae for simple one- and two-stage cluster sampling, and for stratified single- or multi-stage cluster sampling. Special topics treated more intensively are: optimum designs, cost functions, ratio estimates, regression estimates, handling large primary sampling units, estimating variances, double sampling, sampling for time series, and systematic sampling. The entire exposition is replete with references to actual situations and surveys, detailed procedural steps, short cuts, and approximations.

In chapter 12 (Vol. I) are presented several case studies, such as a sample survey of retail stores, the current population survey, and the annual survey of manufactures. Population students who depend on United States Census data will be particularly interested in the brief discussion of sample verification and quality control methods of the 1950 United States Census (an appendix by Daly and Gilford). Volume I ends with a one-page table of "Areas under the Normal Curve." No other tables are included.

Volume II contains a treatment of the basic mathematical theory and the derivations of most of the formulae used in Volume I. Algebraic derivations are used for the most part, although some calculus is employed where particularly needed. The two volumes are extensively cross-referenced.

The reader is warned that these volumes do not presume to cover completely the principles of elementary statistics, although they do provide ample illustrations of applications of elementary principles. Interestingly enough, the index of neither volume includes these words and terms: "parameters," "hypothesis," "test," "significance," "chi-square," "analysis of variance"; but "confidence limits," "confidence intervals," "variance," and the like are included.

Rural sociologists who are interested in large-scale sampling surveys will find these volumes highly useful and stimulating. Small-scale surveys which require only simple sampling techniques are adequately and perhaps better treated in other sources.

C. HORACE HAMILTON.

Department of Rural Sociology,
North Carolina State College.

Who Shall Survive? Foundations of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy and Sociodrama. By J. L. Moreno, M.D.

Beacon, N. Y.: Beacon House, Inc., 1953. Pp. cxiv + 763. \$10.00.

The traditional techniques used to review books for scientific journals cannot be effectively applied to this greatly expanded exposition of the theory and methods of sociometry, by Moreno. Nor does it appear to be a fruitful procedure to attempt a recapitulation of the system and its related theories, concepts, and methods. Some segments of the total scheme are relatively widely known, particularly psychodrama, sociodrama, and the sociogram. Today many practitioners in medicine, social work, and education utilize sociometric techniques, or are familiar with them. But large segments of the revision will come as new material for these and other persons.

The theoretical and philosophical sections have been greatly expanded. A new first section, "Preludes of the Sociometric Movement," provides an insight into the relation between Moreno the prophet, his gospel of sociometry, and the Philistine world in which it was born, that is seldom granted to those not in the inner circle of a new movement. Moreno has attempted here to define the grounds on which disputation about his system will revolve. He insists that it is not sociometry but Moreno about whom the controversy rages.

Certainly there can be no divorcement of the man and the system, just as one cannot separate Jesus Christ from Christianity, Marx from international socialism, or Freud from psychoanalysis. It is evident from Moreno's writings that he does not seek such separation, for he offers quantities of proof to establish his legitimate claim to paternity. In the process he finds it necessary to call attention to those who have distorted and perverted his methods, and to lament that much more attention has been paid to the techniques than to the underlying theoretical basis.

The reflective reader cannot avoid noting the similarity between sociometry, its associated personalities, and the rise of a new cult. Moreno is himself apparently conscious of the parallels, and views himself as the founder of a new world-embracing, scientific-religious system.

Thus, it is within the context of religious movements in the Judeo-Christian world that one must understand sociometry. It is a new religion and Moreno is its founder and prophet. The mother church is the Moreno Institute. Spontaneity and creativity are its sacred concepts. Its ritual is contained within the psychodrama and the sociodrama. The mystic and unifying principle is expressed in tele. The sociogram,

with its circles and interconnecting lines, is a visible symbol of its high priests. The master and the disciples utilize an esoteric language related to dogma, doctrine, and creed. And the prophet and disciples promise the millennium.

Other characteristics which accompany religious-cult movements may also be discovered. Moreno admits that there were lesser prophets who preceded him. "The soil for sociometry was prepared by the thinking of J. Baldwin, C. H. Cooley, G. H. Mead, W. I. Thomas, and particularly John Dewey" (p. ix). There were also the false prophets such as Freud, Marx, and Korzybski, and their systems and proponents have been examined for their errors.

New religions also breed schismatic leaders and betrayers. Group therapy and group dynamics under the respective leadership of Slavson and Kurt Lewin provide such deviation. But it is for Lewin's students that Moreno reserves his strongest language, when he says:

It is unfortunate—and this is why I am breaking my silence now—that these students of group dynamics have not only published distorted versions of my ideas and techniques, but they are practicing them on actual people in so-called research and training laboratories, receiving large fees and research grants without being properly trained for the job.

The striking parallel between Moreno's conception of sociometry with religious-cult development as a phenomenon of the Western world lacks only martyrdom to make the pattern complete.

An adequate evaluation of sociometry is complicated by the problem of separating doctrine from method. Irrespective of one's identification for or against Moreno's system, it must be recognized that he has had a profound influence on psychoanalysis and social psychology and that his techniques have found acceptance in several related disciplines. It is to be expected that many of those who discover Moreno without benefit of the sophistication provided by introduction to traditional social sciences will find his argument compelling. Some who have had such training will embrace his point of view. The effect of his system can be judged more effectively a half century hence.

As a final comment, it is curious that Moreno is unaware of, or at least he makes no allusion to, the growing body of data and theory by sociologists and anthropologists who utilize the method of natural history in the study of group behavior. This approach antedates sociometry by several

decades and is represented by several monographs, which in whole or in part are devoted to the analysis of group structure and function.

SOLON T. KIMBALL.

Teachers College,
Columbia University.

The Social Economics of Agriculture. By Wilson Gee. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954. Pp. viii + 616. \$6.50.

This is a comprehensive, general textbook on modern farming, covering many of our present-day social and economic problems of agriculture. The material is pertinent and timely; the book is the third edition of one originally written in 1932. Gee has been complete and thorough, and has provided us with a great variety of facts, information, and theory.

Although written for use as an introductory college textbook or as the sole text on rural sociology for the general student, any agricultural worker—or, even more important, the interested private citizen—can find enriching, useful, background material for a better understanding of rural social life and economic policy.

This reviewer feels that much of the wordage and data could have been eliminated without losing the essence or "feeling" of the book. In many cases the material is a compilation from bulletins, pamphlets, and other textbooks. Some redundant passages should be deleted. Good use is made of the 1950 census tables to highlight contemporary trends. Neither the student nor the average citizen remembers statistics, and the best use for a book such as this would be to evoke interest in agriculture and to acquaint the neophyte with the personal, social, and monetary problems of the farm family.

"The problem of the farmer is generally oversimplified in the mind of the average person, particularly of the city dweller." Gee offers a four-part study of the topic: (1) "The setting of the agricultural problem" includes a description of ancient and modern practices. This section, which is especially interesting and picturesque, is the story of European, Asian, and early American farm life and methods. (2) "Economic elements" comprises discussions of farm management, ownership and tenancy, finance, insurance, marketing, prices, and cooperatives.

The balance of the book—(3) "Social Factors" and (4) "Rural Institutions"—considers elements of rural life which, too often, are not included in the studies of

agricultural students and adult citizens. Here is an examination of population trends, standards of living, rural health, public welfare, the farm family, country churches, and schools.

The Social Economics of Agriculture, as its very title suggests, presents a realistic approach to the study of farming and rural life. The chapter on the farm family includes several invigorating, warm pieces of farm philosophy—"folks on the farm know . . . that there is comfort, real comfort, in plain living and calm, clear-headed thinking, the sweet old-fashioned way of working till you are tired, commending yourself to God at night, and enjoying a good deep sleep till morning breaks and you wake up rested."

Gee has again given us an intelligent view of the mechanics and commerce of the farm business as well as an indication of the humanism of farming as a way of life.

EDWARD H. KOENIG.

Extension Department,
Baron De Hirsch Foundation.

Agricultural Policy. By Rainer Schickele. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1954. Pp. x + 453. \$5.50.

Agricultural Policy is a book about "public action to improve the scale of living and economic opportunities of farmers and the well-being of rural communities"—an appraisal of past actions, and very many suggestions for change.

The author has two guiding ideas: First, it just doesn't make sense to argue that we have "too much food" in the world today, or even in the United States. Governmental efforts should be aimed at helping to use food rather than restricting its production. This is an idea farm people have long since come to, and its use in a public-policy book is refreshing. The second idea is that capital or credit is necessary for the bulk of the individual farmers to improve their production, living conditions, and bargaining power.

The book is divided into five parts:

- The Problem: Policy Making in a Free Economy
- The Approach: Evaluation of Ends, Means, and Consequences of Agricultural Policy
- Programs for Improving Resource Allocation
- Farm Price Policy
- Programs for Improving Income Distribution

In setting the problem, two very important points are clearly presented. One is that government action need not result in less individual freedom; in fact, "the functions of government have been expanding for the very purpose of safeguarding individual freedom, opportunity, and dignity." This concept of the purpose of government needs to be much more widely incorporated in our thinking than is now the case. The second point is that an increasing share of our activities are group activities. Individuals want to and should participate in the decisions of the groups to which they belong. Unfortunately, the author all but dropped this point at the end of thirty-five pages, with the result that policy formulation and program administration are very inadequately covered, even when he discusses the Land Use Planning program of the USDA, the Soil Conservation District supervisors, the AAA elected committeemen, etc.

Two goals are described in Part II—the goal of maximum production and the goal of optimum income distribution. These "superior ends" are to be broken down into lesser goals against which the specific action programs will be tested. The evaluation scheme is much too limited, particularly when viewed against the problem set earlier.

The section on farm price policy is probably the strongest part of the book. The farmers' desire for a "fair share" of the national income and for price stability is emphasized. The controversial question of support levels and calculation of parity prices is presented clearly. The conclusion is that the general levels of support contained in present legislation are not far out of line with agricultural prices that would prevail in a free market under conditions of full employment. However, the price-support levels for the individual commodities do not now offer equal income opportunities. The suggestion is made that we abandon the parity formula and the historical base period.

Although the surplus purchase and production control programs are described, the general conclusion is that restriction of production or diverting to a lower use is a social cost and hence undesirable. Price deficiency payments are considered preferable to the purchase operations of the CCC. The cost of this method in the case of commodities with an inelastic demand, however, is not adequately emphasized. The author places his primary hope for supporting farm prices in surplus disposal and consumption programs, such as the school lunch pro-

gram and the national food allotment plan. Programs to increase consumption would be effective in supporting the price of most perishables (with potatoes a conspicuous exception), and perishables are most difficult to support with present methods. Emphasis on the consumption approach may also explain the surprising failure of this book to deal in greater detail with the problem of wheat.

The main contribution of this book will probably be in its excellent selection of real issues and the clear, informative, and sympathetic manner in which they are presented. A wide range of public programs is treated, with separate chapters on production credit, soil conservation, the family farm, homesteads, the Farmers Home Administration, real estate credit, and cooperatives. These are known to rank high in the author's priority of important and desirable policies. In this book, however, they are relegated to secondary importance.

The attempt to clarify methodology will probably not come up to the author's hopes and occasionally interferes with the free flow of the text. The book will probably find its greatest usefulness as a text in agricultural policy at the senior and beginning graduate level.

RAYMOND J. PENN and
G. ALBERT KRISTJANSON.

Department of Agricultural Economics and
Department of Rural Sociology,
University of Wisconsin.

The Family in the American Economy. By
Hazel Kyrk. Chicago: The University
of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. xvii + 407.
\$6.00.

Hazel Kyrk has written a textbook primarily for college classes in home economics, but any student of the family will find in *The Family in the American Economy* a stimulating and very readable analysis of the subject. Almost every chapter, of which there are nineteen, is a dynamic analysis of the matter at hand. It is primarily a book on the economic welfare of the family, and the theme is maintained throughout. This fact should not deter sociologists, much less rural sociologists, from using it in the classroom, for it proceeds from a sociological frame into economics. It is not only good economics, it is good sociology. The author's attention to the economic position of the family during the family life-span should be of particular interest to the sociologist.

As a good textbook should, this volume acquaints the student with the major

sources of factual information while cautioning in the use of such materials where obvious gaps and deficiencies occur. Because of a scientifically critical approach assumed by the author, the book is important as a research document, suggesting new hypotheses that need testing. Research-minded students should have a careful look at it. For example, the discussion of forces that are increasing or decreasing the work week of homekeeping women poses some excellent hypotheses.

Chapters I and II discuss the forms and functions of the American family today. Components of family income and wealth comprise the subject matter of chapters III through VII, which are followed by a chapter on free goods and services. The problem of income insecurity and provision for the future through savings, insurance, and social security are treated in chapters IX through XII.

Considerable space in the book is given to consideration of the family as a consumer-production unit, especially in discussing the economic position of women; this is found in chapters XIII and XIV. An analysis of income and property rights of husband and wife under the law, in chapter XV, rounds out the discussion of family income.

The last four chapters of the book—focused upon planning family expenditures, the cost of living, and the standard of living—taken together constitute one of the best statements on the standard of living to be found anywhere in the literature. The chapter on planning family expenditures, because of its concentration on budgeting *per se*, comes close to being what Kyrk tried hard to keep the book from becoming, that is, one in which a person may find "insights and instructions that will immediately and directly be of profit to him or his family as income recipient or user." In fact, it seems to this reviewer that the whole book is much more of a practical and handy guide for families than the author is willing to concede. On the other hand, there is no reason why such a contribution of the book should be underestimated.

No student of standards of living can afford to miss the last three chapters, which deal with the cost of living and the standard of living. There is freshness and vitality in the writing that suggests "wine in new bottles," and it is what we have needed. However, there is some overlapping and duplication between chapters because the author has seen fit to relegate the two concepts to separate chapters; there is too little consideration of the work that has been done in the construction of scales, and it

seems hard for this reviewer to justify the omission of any serious discussion of the Sewell Scale and the Hagood Index. Then, too, this reviewer would have felt honored if some reference had been made to his and Taylor's article in *Farm Economics* dealing specifically with the decision-making process. But these are minor details and detract little from a very well-written book which bids well to become a classic in its field. Incidentally, the analysis always turns to rural-urban comparisons where such are possible, and considerable use is made of agricultural experiment station bulletins.

T. WILSON LONGMORE.

Institute of Inter-American Affairs,
Bogotá, Colombia.

A Social Program for Older People. By Jerome Kaplan. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1953. Pp. xiii + 158. \$3.00.

Like the untidy housewife who sweeps the dust under the rug, we have tried to hide our older citizens from the public view and public conscience. We provide them with food, clothing, shelter, and medical care; but we deny them one of man's basic needs—membership in a group and group activity. *A Social Program for Older People* suggests a remedy.

As group-work consultant for the Hennepin County Welfare Board, Jerome Kaplan has practiced what he preaches. From his social-work background he developed and modified those techniques that are needed in a social program for the aged. In 1952 he received the Survey Award for his contribution to social work.

This is an unusual book in the "how to do it" series, because it focuses not on making things and salvaging materials but on making organizations and salvaging lives. Chapters on organizing a group, arranging a program, securing participation, camping for older people, and homes for the aged are supplemented with chapters dealing with the role of the professional social worker and the role of the volunteer. Throughout the book, Kaplan emphasizes the contributions that older people themselves can make. In fact, the utilization of their special skills and abilities is in many respects the key to successful group activity.

WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.

Department of Rural Sociology,
The University of Connecticut.

Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility. By Natalie Rogoff. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953. Pp. 131. \$4.00.

This monograph has two main parts: First, trends in occupational mobility are inferred from differences noted between 1910 and 1940; and second, race, nativity, and age are analyzed as factors in mobility. The study was conducted in Marion County, Indiana, which includes Indianapolis. Approximately 37,000 marriage licenses issued in the two periods provided the data for the study. About 16,000 of these licenses were eliminated from the analysis, either because they did not meet the requirements of the universe or because the data on occupation were vague or omitted.

Total mobility was assumed to be the resultant of two types of factors: first, general demand factors as measured by shifting proportions in various strata within the labor force; and second, personal and group factors. Since Rogoff's interest was in the relative rigidity of the occupational structure, the demand factor was controlled in the measurement of mobility by dividing total mobility by the demand factor. The actual manipulations in measuring the resultant variable, social distance mobility, were:

$$\frac{X_{ij}}{R_i C_j / N}$$

where:

X_{ij} is the number of sons moving from father's occupational class i to occupational class j ,

R_i is the number of fathers in occupational class i ,

C_j is the number of positions (sons) in occupational class j ,

N is the total number of positions (or sons or fathers).

The denominator is thus like the definition of expected values as they are used in conventional contingency analysis. The ratio ranges from "0" where there is no mobility, through "1" where the mobility equals the expected mobility, to (it appears) infinity. In actual practice, the highest ratio found in the study is somewhat over 2. More will be said of this later.

The findings on trends contradict the hypothesis that the American stratification system is becoming more rigid. Total social distance mobility ratios for the two periods were identical, and there were no large changes by occupational category. In 1910 the sons in the upper strata were

somewhat more mobile than those in the lower strata, while in 1940 there was more equality. The findings on the factors in mobility were consistent with previous literature, particularly on race. Negroes from all occupational origins were found moving into blue-collar jobs. In 1940, the sons of the foreign born were more likely to move to the professional and proprietor classes than were the sons of the native born. In the earlier period, mobility—both upward and downward—increased with age, while in the later period the relationship was curvilinear.

The study presents a few points for further methodological development. First, the demand factor is inferred entirely from the distribution of the labor force. Further study may indicate that differential fertility should be taken into consideration as a dimension of the demand factor. For example, farmers' sons were highly mobile out of farming and sons of men from other occupational categories had very low mobility rates into farming. The author says: "In 1910 and 1940, farmers' sons moved with great ease out of their fathers' class" (p. 52). This is hardly the same as the implication of the great concern over the difficulty in getting started in farming found in current literature in rural sociology and agricultural economics. Perhaps a statement more consistent with other literature would run: "In 1910 and 1940, farmers' sons found it difficult to stay in their fathers' class." The assumption is made in the first statement (the author's) that farm boys wish to leave farming, and in the second (the reviewer's) that they wish to stay. If the excess of boys over the number of farms in the rural farm areas were defined as negative demand, neither assumption need be made. Similarly, high mobility rates into the professional class in 1940 may be due to the demand created by the failure of professional men to replace themselves.

Perhaps the most interesting point of all is the ratio by which the researcher arrives at social-distance mobility. This is recognized by Rogoff and by Herbert Goldhamer in the preface; they suggest that the formula has more general use, applicable whenever "turnover" is a variable. The author discusses the formula only briefly, and its behavior in other particular kinds of circumstances is left to the reader to determine.

It may be said of the study in general that Rogoff has done a careful job with an intelligent use of statistics, and the book is recommended for the library of researchers

and teachers in social mobility and related areas.

CHARLES E. RAMSEY.

Department of Sociology,
University of Minnesota.

The Rural-Urban Fringe: A Study of Adjustment to Residence Location. By Walter T. Martin. Eugene, Ore.: The University of Oregon Press, 1953. Pp. v + 109. \$1.25.

The reader of this little book will have much the same experience as the devotee of murder mysteries. Before he has read many pages he knows what the outcome is going to be. From that point onward, his fascination lies in the method the researcher is employing to arrive at the denouement!

Seriously, our residential values being what they are, the conclusions are just about what we would expect them to be. The findings are of less significance than the way the author went about getting them. The carefully controlled, painstaking method is such that this reviewer has no hesitancy in recommending the book for courses in research methodology. The development of the RURP (Rural-Urban Residential Preference) scale, for example, has the promise of real value for future studies.

The sociologist interested in the rural-urban fringe should discover much of value in the author's inventory of the findings and shortcomings of previous studies in this area. Here he reveals a familiarity with the literature as well as keen insight, and this is not said only because the reviewer's own work was treated kindly. He notes the too frequent emphasis on empirical findings *per se* rather than on their relation to some underlying (ecological) theory. The point is well taken. He draws attention to the lack of comparability of the areas studied, but it should be observed that this deficiency is not overcome in the present study. As to the problem of the purposive selection of such areas, the author feels that "... the influences which bring about the development of fringe areas are sufficiently consistent throughout our society so that relatively superficial deviations from 'typicality' are unimportant."

The primary concern of the study is the adjustment of fringe dwellers to residence location. "What are the characteristics of those individuals highly favorable to fringe location as contrasted with those who yearn for urban residence?" To provide at least tentative answers to that question, the author studied the fringe area of Eugene and Springfield, Oregon.

The author found that while fringe people are urban-oriented, accessibility to the city center is not the crucial factor in satisfaction with fringe location. Of far greater importance are such factors as "adequate" living facilities with modern conveniences, a fairly high level of income, an opportunity for participation in organizations, and status in the community. Early conditioning to the relative isolation of rural life is also an aid to adjustment. Especially is this true for women, since fringe location so often means the severing of ties with former associations. For women, too, high RUP scores were significantly associated with the presence in the home of bathroom facilities and something other than a wood or coal range for cooking purposes. The crux of the matter would seem to be convenience in the mode of living, which falls in line with the author's observation that "the characteristics of well-adjusted fringe residents . . . are probably those of the person well-adjusted to various residence situations." This reviewer finds himself in agreement.

MYLES W. RODEHAVER.

Department of Sociology,
St. Lawrence University.

Transportation and the Growth of Cities.
By Harlan W. Gilmore. Glencoe, Ill.:
The Free Press, 1953. Pp. vi + 170.
\$3.00.

The thesis of this book is that communities can be classified realistically only on the basis of their combined economic and social functions. These functions the author sees as dependent on the larger social and economic systems in which they are set, and on the role played by a city in the division of labor within that system. Transportation systems are asserted to be "a better key to socio-economic systems than social scientists have realized."

The author surveys the historic relationships between transportation arrangements and the economic organization of cities; suggests a tendency (which is questionable as a universal) for a given type of economic organization to be correlated with a given type of social pattern; classifies communities according to this pattern of social and economic organization and division of functions; and presents a selected list of rural-urban stereotypes, called "modern American traditions," which he believes have limited the operation of the ecological changes modern transportation inventions have made possible.

Gilmore's monograph is useful in emphasizing the ways in which transport factors set limits on community expansion and in which the level of transport technology affects the distribution and growth of communities of varying size.

Nevertheless, the book is disappointing, primarily because philosophizing and generalizations have too largely substituted for research and data (e.g., see pp. 82-83, 100, 117). These defects are not removed by the author's disclaimer that he is limiting himself to proposing an analytical scheme and a set of hypotheses to be tested. There is a clear intention to describe a factual situation, not to present a mathematical model nor a scheme of logic. The paucity of data is suggested by the fact that beyond chapter 3 there are only two footnote citations to any sources.

In this reviewer's judgment, Gilmore's presentation of his materials in book form is open to question. They would be measurably improved by compression into a journal article. One way to begin would be to omit the unnecessary summaries for each chapter and for the book as a whole. As these stand, they add only one thing—repetition—a quality which is adequately achieved without them.

Any reader will find many specific quarrels. Transportation is perhaps overemphasized by viewing it as the cause of, rather than as a coincident factor in, economic development, cultural change, and ecological expansion (p. 32). Complex social situations, such as the power structure, status arrangements, or value systems of communities are oversimplified in a rather extraordinary way (pp. 81-84). Burgess' concentric zone hypothesis is not understood as a model (p. 145). Self-sufficient farming is frequently neglected (pp. 65, 80). Culture is not recognized in an ecological framework as an adaptive mechanism which is one part of total human environment (chap. 7). Inez Rolph becomes M. K. Ralph, and Robert E. Dickinson turns up as Dickson (pp. 164, 159). There are other name errors and the probably inevitable proof errors (see pp. 16, 27, 29, 65, and 107, for example). One wonders why Figure I is followed by Chart I instead of Figure II. Nearly a page of other possible queries have been listed by the reviewer but are omitted here.

In sum, here is a book which does point up the fundamental relationship between transportation and ecological organization. It does suggest a possible morphology of communities, functionally based. But that is about as far as it takes us. Not wholly

inappropriate is the old riddle: Why is this book like a burlesque show? Because both promise on the outside what they fail to produce within.

VINCENT HEATH WHITNEY.

Department of Sociology,
Brown University.

Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy. By Alvin Gouldner. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954. Pp. 271. \$4.50.

Alvin Gouldner's book is devoted to a consideration of the phenomenon of bureaucracy. The study, however, does not follow the conventional treatment of this subject. Essays on bureaucracy are usually either highly theoretical and speculative or almost completely value-oriented. Gouldner's study is a fruitful and brilliant combination of sophisticated theory and intensive case study.

The theories of Max Weber, at least his ideas on bureaucracy, have been the subject of much discussion but have not, to the knowledge of this writer, been adequately incorporated into the research concepts of American sociologists. Max Weber formulated his theory of bureaucracy mainly from comparative studies of historical epochs covering thousands of years. Small wonder then that it is difficult to apply such ideas to the study of particular companies or organizations. Gouldner's success in bridging this gap constitutes an important achievement.

In brief, the case materials of this book are based on an intensive analysis of a gypsum manufacturing plant and of the mine which provides the raw gypsum for manufacturing. Description of the gypsum factory centers around alterations in social relations caused by a change in managers. Also, there is a close investigation of safety rules as these operate in the factory. Description of the gypsum mine focuses on the causes and functions of informal organization. In this particular mine it appears that informal organization predominates over bureaucratic modes of organization.

In analyzing each of these work organizations, Gouldner relies heavily on functional analysis and attempts to indicate the functions and dysfunctions of the various structural patterns that he describes.

From comparison of mine and factory, the author concludes that three types of bureaucracy are present. These are punishment-centered bureaucracy, mock bureaucracy, and representative bureaucracy. As the names imply, each type represents a

distinct pattern of employee reactions to company rules. The *punishment-centered* pattern is built around punitive measures for infractions of rules. *Mock bureaucracy* refers to formal rules that are not enforced by management and not followed by workers. *Representative bureaucracy* refers to rules that both management and workers respect and obey.

Observation and interviewing were the basic methods used in the study, though some questionnaire data are included in the report. The study was avowedly and explicitly based on qualitative data. An appendix describes the problems encountered in the field work and is a refreshing commentary on research procedures.

This volume raises as many questions as it answers, and in doing so points the way to fruitful uses of the concept of bureaucracy in the study of social organization.

ROBERT C. STONE.

Urban Life Research Institute,
Tulane University.

Sociology and Philosophy. By Emile Durkheim. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953. Pp. vii + 97. \$2.50.

This is another addition to the growing list of the translated works of Durkheim. His major contributions have already appeared in English, and this volume dips into some of his shorter articles. The book draws together three essays, collected and first published by C. Bougle, in 1924, under the title *Sociologie et Philosophie*. These articles and dates are "Individual and Collective Representations" (1898), "The Determination of Moral Facts" (1906), and "Value Judgments and Judgments of Reality" (1911).

The introduction by Peristiany is itself a contribution to the understanding of certain key problems in Durkheimian sociology. It is not merely or principally an introduction to the essays but deals critically with "true guides" to Durkheim's thought involving "the relation between Average, Normal, and Ideal, and his conception of Creative Synthesis" (p. viii).

The first essay concerns itself with one of the central tenets in Durkheim's sociology—that is, that "collective representations" (morals, ideals, ideas, meanings) through a synthesis of "individual representations" become a new level of *sui generis* social reality distinct from, but related to, the parts making up the "creative synthesis." Like Cooley, the *Homo Duplex* of Durkheim represents the I and we in polar, not dichotomous, terms.

The second essay is a contribution to the sociology of values or morality, and illustrates the polemic context of much of Durkheim's work. The article consists of a series of theses proposed to the French Philosophical Society and Durkheim's answers to objections made to them. Moral facts are said to be characterized by obligation and desirability, and morality is rooted in public opinion or collective representations: "Morality begins with life in the group . . ." (p. 52).

The third essay deals most directly with the way sociology treats a problem of philosophy and, incidentally, attempts to show that "positive sociology" is centrally concerned with ideals or values, contrary to criticism contemporary to Durkheim days and, to some extent, our own. Durkheim explores and rejects psychological, utilitarian, organic, sociological, and theological explanations of the reality of values. Values or ideals "are collective forces—that is, natural but at the same time moral forces . . . and therefore subject to scientific investigation" (p. 93). Thus, value judgments and judgments of reality exhibit "no difference in nature" (p. 95); but the second may treat of concepts directly expressing reality, while the first deals with ideals which though "real" are of a different order.

Finally, Durkheim concludes that "positive sociology" (he objects to the necessity to use the adjective with a science), although "accused of having a fetish for fact and a systematic indifference to the ideal" actually finds its starting point "in the field of ideals" which, indeed, is its "peculiar field of study." Yet he warns that sociology, as science, cannot "construct ideals" but "accepts them as given facts, as objects of study," and "tries to analyze and explain them" (p. 96).

EARL D. C. BREWER.

Candler School of Theology,
Emory University.

Villes et Campagnes: Civilisation urbaine et Civilisation rurale en France. Edited by Georges Friedmann. Paris: Librairie Armand Collin, 1953. Pp. xxiv + 480. Fr. 1,200.

This paper-bound, well-illustrated volume contains the transcripts of the second sociological conference organized, in 1951, by the Center for Sociological Studies at the French National Center of Scientific Research. The twelve sessions assembled about seventy persons—outstanding scholars in the various social sciences, educators,

and representatives of public agencies—to discuss the problems of urban and rural life in contemporary France. Although reports of this kind rarely hold the attention of outsiders for any length of time, this initial handicap is here almost completely overcome through expert editing and clever typographical arrangement. Among the great variety of topics and the wealth of detail (including many summaries of field research), American sociologists will find much otherwise unavailable information about social conditions in France together with some highly sensitive and revealing interpretations. An excellent index and analytical table of contents makes it easy to spot the passages of special interest to the reader. The chapter headings indicate clearly what to expect: history, geography, rural origins of the big city proletariat, *banlieus* (rurbanization, urban decentralization, migrations of the labor force), annual migrations of vacationers, traditional culture and urbanization, urban and rural religious practices, a comparison of family structures, recent developments in rural styles of life, psycho-sociological conditioning through the technical and natural environment, and urban and rural language.

In addition, this collection of papers gives a good idea of the present state of rural-urban sociology in France. While in some respects the influence of American models is apparent, one gains the definite impression that students on this side of the Atlantic, too, have something to learn from their "Continental" colleagues. Greater resistance to overdepartmentalization and closer cooperation with historians, geographers, and economists seem to account for the breadth of the analysis as well as for the depth and imaginativeness of the interpretation. This is particularly true of the treatment of the *banlieu*, which should prove highly suggestive for the corresponding efforts of American rural sociologists to cope with the problem of the rurban fringe. On the other hand, the exclusive (though not uncritical) dependence of the French scholars on the Marxist frame of reference in studying social class is somewhat disconcerting in view of the progress made lately in this country with regard to the conceptualization of social structure. One field in which the French seem to have reached a higher level of sophistication is that of religion. Favored by a census which does not treat religion as a *noli-me-tangere*, they have developed research methods and collected a wealth of verified facts as yet hardly matched on this continent. In a series of empirical studies on French Ca-

tholicism, LeBras and Boulard have applied refined indices based on types of religious practices, and have thereby been able to come up with some rather unexpected conclusions. For corresponding studies regarding the inner strength of French Protestantism and Judaism, different, and perhaps somewhat less advanced, instruments have been developed by E. Léonard and M. Roblin whose contributions command considerable interest on the part of the sociologist of religion. The whole chapter might offer welcome stimulation to American rural sociologists for research in an area which has frequently been side-stepped by them.

E. K. FRANCIS.

Department of Sociology,
University of Notre Dame.

Nippon Kazoku Seido Ron (A Theory of the Japanese Family System). By Hajime Tamagi. Kyoto: Horitsu Bunka Sha, 1953. Pp. iii + 248. 260 yen.

The book is divided into five chapters, entitled: "The Family Group as the Functional Basis of Japanese Society" (I), "The Family and Relatives' Function and Their Relationship in Japanese Society" (II), "The Patriarchal System as the Basic Order of Japanese Society" (III), "Women's Submissive Relation in Japanese Society" (IV), and "The Half-Feudal Society and the Foundation of the Family System" (V).

The aim of the book is to clarify two points: (1) the family-kin relation, and (2) the family system-society relation. The author deals with the Japanese family system—both in its economic and political aspects—from the Meiji Era up to the present, in an attempt to explain why this patriarchal system had to be maintained in spite of the growth of a capitalistic society. The peculiar development of Japan's capitalistic industry has caused various inconsistencies and problems in the society. Tamagi points out repeatedly that these social problems could be solved, on the whole, by maintaining the patriarchal family system and cooperative work of the family members. In other words, the patriarchal family system and the capitalistic society exist in Japan side by side, since Japanese society is typical of Asiatic societies.

In chapter V, some main factors (for example, ideological and psychological) in the Japanese family system are avoided, and no attempt is made to observe the relationship of the family system to the geographical position. The Japanese family system in the Meiji Era, of course, changed more or less through influence of Western civiliza-

tion. However, Tamagi shows irrational and inconsistent rules pertaining to relatives, inheritance, marriage, and parent-child relations in the Meiji Civil Law. He is not aware of the fact that it has been impossible to reform the traditional family system and customs or mores under the circumstances, since Japan consists of small islands and her industrial resources are quite limited while her population has rapidly increased.

The reviewer does not agree that the Japanese patriarchal and family inheritance systems have been maintained for the sake of securing the development of Japan's capitalistic society. This is not the whole story. The author apparently assumes that the family inheritance system could entirely disappear if and when a so-called socialistic society comes into existence in the country. These points require more careful observation and analysis.

The family inheritance system has been an impediment to the development of a democratic family in Japan. Consequently, Tamagi maintains his opinion that "if it is the fundamental principle that individuals are equal and independent under the civil law, it must be necessary not only to alter the family inheritance system which is the basis of semi-feudal regulations for the family system as stated . . . in the Meiji Civil Law, but also to abolish such a system in the Imperial Family Rules" (pp. 246-247). Otherwise, an exceptional family system which differs from that of the whole people may continue in the future. "Therefore, in order to abolish *Katoku Sozoku Seido*, it is necessary for Japanese society to change its peculiar economic and national functions which rest on the system. The family inheritance system could not be substantially abolished without such a reformation" (p. 247), he concludes.

Undoubtedly this book makes a significant contribution to an understanding of the features of the Japanese family system in modern times. Chapter IV, concerning Japanese women's status, is especially well written; Tamagi is an authority on that subject.

CHIEN-HSUN HUANG.

American Cultural Center,
Kobe, Japan.

Såden torkar. Sådesuppsättningar i Sverige, 1850-1900. En etnologisk undersökning. (Etnologiska källskrifter, ed. by Sigurd Erixon and Helge Nelson, Vol. V). By Eerik Laid. Lund, Sweden: Lantbruksförbundets Tidskriftaktiebolag, 1952. Pp. xii + 344 + maps. SKr. 22.00.

The study of "folk cultures," which has become prominent in America during the last few decades, is an interest of long standing in the scholarly traditions of Continental Europe. Its literary manifestations in modern times go back to the sixteenth century. During the last hundred years or so, this particular kind of study has developed into a specific scholarly discipline, in Scandinavia commonly labeled "ethnology" (German: *Volkskunde*). The focus of interest of this discipline is the "folk culture" at the grass-roots level of Western civilization. In view of the fact, however, that this is a dying culture under the impact of modern urbanism, the efforts of ethnologists, in Scandinavia and elsewhere, have been concentrated strongly on the minute recording of ancient customs and their geographical distribution, with oral traditions and the memory of old people as the main sources of information.

The present monograph is such a minute description of the various techniques used for drying grain in Sweden during the second half of the nineteenth century, and within this very special field it is undoubtedly an important and highly laudable piece of work. To a sociologist, it is more a challenge than anything else, in that it raises more questions than it answers. This, in itself, is an important contribution of any good collection of factual material.

The sociologist, of course, is particularly curious about the relationship between social factors in a more restricted sense, and the possible influence of these factors upon the structure and distribution, retention and adoption of various techniques. On this point, however, the author gives little information. Frequent allusions, to be sure, are made to "social conditions" in general, particularly to stratification and its correlation with differential drying techniques. The well-known fact that innovations tend to be initiated and first accepted by the higher social strata is also demonstrated in several instances. But the sociologist is still left with a whole series of unanswered questions concerning the social situations in which the different grain-drying techniques were applied. Evidently, some degree of cooperation is involved in each of the described techniques. But who took part in this cooperation (family, clan, neighborhood, etc.)? Was there an exchange work-pattern connected with any particular technique? Were others more adapted to the use of hired labor, or statute labor?

Of course, it is not the reviewer's intention to say that any work, in order to be scholarly meaningful, must be a treatise in

sociology. However, in an ethnological work like this, questions similar to the ones stated above may have significance for the understanding of some of the problems involved, such as the question of diffusion, innovation, or resistance to change. Culture traits, no matter how "technical," very often have symbolic meanings in terms of group identifications and other nonmaterial values.

For the very same reason, on the other hand, sociology—particularly rural sociology—might gain by making more use of ethnological material, and even by taking up some of the techniques and methods of ethnology. In this respect, the present work, as well as ethnology in general, is of value to the sociologist. There is much room for a cross-fertilization between these two branches of social science.

PETER A. MUNCH.

Department of Sociology and Anthropology,
University of North Dakota.

Rural Church Administration. By Rockwell C. Smith. Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953. Pp. 176. \$2.00.

In the first chapter of *Rural Church Administration*, Smith concisely presents some of the fundamental concepts of rural and urban society. However, technical terms are dispensed with since the book has not been prepared for sociologists. Environmental, population, and occupational differences are presented to provide a foundation for the main part of the text.

The author states that "The majority of rural churches, whether in town or open country, are one-room structures." These churches must share, in most cases, a non-resident pastor with other congregations. This means spreading a minister's efforts over too wide an area. "Obviously without the advantage of direct and continually recurring contacts with his people, he must develop a quality of statesmanlike understanding and leadership if he is to do anything more than maintain a precarious ecclesiastical status quo. The more than one third Americans who are rural must find their religious salvation in an institution and through a pastoral leadership like this." Smith states further, "Continued neglect of an adequate ministry to our rural people will lead to a more pagan America twenty-five years from now, however effective the work we do in the cities may be. Hence a book on rural church administration."

The section on "The Town and Country Minister" makes a strong plea for a better-trained minister with more adequate sup-

port, housing, and other financial considerations. "Actually he [the rural pastor] needs more and better training since he is much more on his own than the urban pastor. Furthermore, in many rural churches he will face, Sunday after Sunday, a congregation in which numbers of the adults are college graduates."

The book presents eighteen topics in the field of church administration, with the special focal point on the town and country church. Simplicity and nontechnical terms characterize the book. It has hundreds of practical and very important points which provide a guide to success in the rural pastorate. Topics under consideration are: "The Uniqueness of the Town and Country Church," "The Town and Country Minister," "The Minister's Schedule," "The Parish Structure," "The Parish Program," "Planning the Parish Budget," "Spreading the Parish News," "Housing the Church," "Principles and Pattern in Parish Worship," "Rites in Church Worship," "The Pastor's Ministry in the Home," "The Pastor's Ministry to the Sick," "The Pastor's Ministry to the Bereaved," "The Pastor's Ministry as Counselor," and "Church Administration as Christian Experience."

MARVIN T. JUDY.

Department of Town and Country Church,
Southern Methodist University.

Democracy Is You. By Richard W. Poston.
New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953.
Pp. xi + 312. \$3.00.

This book is not for those who shy at the word "community." Poston, who was director of the Bureau of Community Development, University of Washington, and now is in a similar position at Southern Illinois University, declares in Part I, "Philosophy," that "without wholeness and completeness of community life there can be no democratic society."

"This is a guide intended for the use of a community study group," a community of "a few hundred up to places of several thousand." Part II, "Mechanics of Procedure," details a 22-week study-group job, formidable even for professional community leadership. Emphasis is upon study—before half-cocked action—regular attendance, discussion procedure, and standing committees to follow through with action recommendations to be approved by the entire body.

For inexperienced chairmen, secretaries, recorders, discussion leaders, and interviewers, there are specific instructions. A full set of analytical questions for buzz ses-

sions follows each broadly descriptive chapter on government, recreation, industry, etc. Specific committees and specific steps for each are spelled out. For example, there are 17 items or steps for the Population Committee. An 11-page outline for collecting basic facts has been prepared for this committee. The Economic Development Committee has three subcommittees—Trades and Services, Industry, and Agricultural. This 13-page research outline includes a "Consumer Buying Habits Survey" questionnaire. These materials are in Parts III and IV.

This might well be a text for study of modern community development. Extension rural sociologists may ask if there should be relatively more of the action-approach emphasis. "Help the community concentrate upon one 'felt need' at a time" is a less comprehensive but more realistic approach.

There is no mention in the bibliography or elsewhere of the early community "score cards" designed by the late Nat Frame and Aaron Rapping of West Virginia, or of current Agricultural Extension programs in the field of community development. The process of community action and the roles of indigenous leaders, as described and analyzed by Paul Miller in *Community Health Action*, is missing. The descriptive chapters give few comparative data for the use of study committees.

This is a good reference volume for philosophy and details of the concept of democracy in the local community.

J. P. SCHMIDT.

Department of Agricultural Economics
and Rural Sociology,
Ohio State University.

BOOK NOTES

Social Work Yearbook, 1954. Edited by Russell H. Kurtz. New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1954. Pp. 703. \$6.00.

This, the first *Social Work Year Book* to be published since 1951, brings up to date the descriptions of organized activities in social work and related fields. A directory section lists 520 national, international, and Canadian agencies, reporting for each the name and address, name of the principal officer, statement of purpose and activities, and related information.

Highlighted in the 1954 *Year Book* are developments which have occurred with respect to social security, international aid, mental health, civil liberties, juvenile delinquency, chronic illness, federated financ-

ing, and numerous other fields of activity in governmental and voluntary social work.—E. A. WILKENING.

Needed Urban and Metropolitan Research. Edited by Donald J. Bogue. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, Miami University, 1953. Pp. x + 88.

The editor of this stimulating little volume was leader of a seminar in Population, Urbanism, and Ecology at the University of Chicago, in the spring of 1953. The eight chapters consist of abstracts of talks made to the seminar, followed by numerous general and specific research proposals outlined by the editor. The contributors included an alderman, a housing administrator, two city planners, a geographer, and several sociologists. The result is a very challenging collection of documents. It should be particularly useful to graduate students who want to do some research that may be both significant and practicable.

In the introductory chapter it is proposed that priority be given to "studies with theoretical implications, but also capable of providing some of the knowledge needed to achieve immediate practical ends." Special emphasis is laid on comparative urban research, cooperative work, and social-psychological aspects of urban life.

Among the more limited fields of research proposed are: organized resistance to city planning, factors associated with apathy and complacency with respect to city problems, the usefulness of different area units, the relation of housing needs to the life cycle of families, the conflicting value systems associated with slums, and sources and varieties of people in fringe areas.—STUART A. QUEEN.

The Juvenile Offender: Perspective and Readings. By Clyde B. Vedder. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1954. Pp. xii + 510. \$6.00.

This is a book of seventy-one readings, distributed among thirteen chapters, on juvenile delinquency. The topics covered are the nature and extent of delinquency; economic, family, and community factors; personality and behavior aspects; gangs; apprehension and detention; juvenile court; probation; institutionalization and parole; and prevention. Each chapter is preceded by the author's commentary and a thumbnail sketch of the substance of each of the readings comprising the chapter. There are articles not only by academic and research persons but also by a wide range of professional persons who must deal in a practical way with delinquency. The contributions

of the practitioners were included "so that the student might have at hand insightful observations that characteristically are not exploited in the classroom." This may be a good idea, but the readings are too heavily weighted in that direction, and too little use is made of readings which embody a scientific approach. There is no coherent frame of reference to which the readings are tied; the approach is thoroughly eclectic, with critical appraisal kept at a minimum.

Students may profit from the book if it is used along with one of the available textbooks on delinquency. However, the non-student who wants to get a general picture of our knowledge (and lack of knowledge) about juvenile delinquency would do better with one of the textbooks.—MICHAEL HAKEEM.

Successful Management of Matrimonial Cases. By Howard Hilton Spellman. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. Pp. ix + 306. \$5.65.

This volume, by a distinguished member of the New York bar, may have interest for two types of social scientists: those having acute marital problems of their own, and those having an interest in the subculture of the legal profession. It seems quite clear from this volume that deep and pervading social distance separates the social scientist from the legal profession—or at least some members of the legal profession. This is evident in the very first chapter, in which the author warns his legal readers against statistical studies of marriage and divorce.

The volume makes good reading for those who somehow believe that divorce is still not a grim business in our society. This manual covers the subject from the hiring of a private detective to the problem of extracting alimony payments from a reluctant spouse. Perhaps it should be required reading for persons contemplating either marriage or divorce.—E. E. LEMASTERS.

Man in Society: Preface to Sociology and the Social Sciences. By George Simpson. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1954. Pp. vi + 90. \$0.95.

This first product of the Doubleday Short Studies in Sociology is succinctly written to analyze the origins of science, social science, and sociology, and their interrelations and current controversies.

The study relates the ordering of science and social science; economics, political science, and sociology; history, anthropology, and social science; and psychology, social

psychology, and sociology. In the latter discussion, the function of psychiatry for social science is accented.

In the sociological "behaviorist"-*"verstehen"* controversy, represented by Lundberg and functionalist schools, respectively, the author bends toward the latter group. Yet he acknowledges the need for a dynamic, emerging sociology that must utilize many approaches. He concludes with concern for social science and social values, and a code of ethics for sociologists in our times.—MORTON RUBIN.

The Development of Negro Religion. By Ruby F. Johnston. New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. Pp. xxi + 202. \$3.00.

This book is a factual account of the evolution of Negro religion in terms of the American culture. It combines the historical, the sociological, the psychological, and the philosophical approaches in presenting a frankly authentic analysis of the Negro's religious experiences—a description, in colorful language, reflecting a lifetime of intimate acquaintance with religious behavior. It describes the changes which are occurring in religion and relates religious behavior to economic and social conditions.—JEN-CHI CHANG.

SELECTED RURAL FICTION IN 1953

by Caroline B. Sherman

The Inheritors. By Jane Abbott. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. Pp. 254. \$3.00.

Three separate city-bred, present-day women relatives attempt to live on an up-country New England farm in order to inherit it. The old farmer had shrewdly made this test the requirement of inheritance. An entertaining if improbable account of it all.

Wait, Son, October Is Near. By John Bell Clayton. New York: Macmillan Co. Pp. 255. \$3.50.

One summer in a boy's life reveals his feeling of safe happiness, his deep unity with home and country surroundings. Then come surprise, heartbreak, and desperation. His loving relationship with his father underscores the tragedy. Scenes, sounds, and fragrances of the Valley of Virginia give an added quality to this haunting story.

The Kentuckians. By Janice Holt Giles. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co. Pp. 272. \$3.50.

Mrs. Giles' previous sympathetic tales of

the Kentucky mountains seemed sentimental, but this solid historical novel, built on research but kept genuinely human and native, is admirable. It strengthens understanding of the times of the settlement of that country and uses as characters many who are named in the records but are long forgotten.

Only the Unafraid. By Ronald Kirkbride. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. Pp. 268. \$3.50.

This completes a trilogy devoted to a Quaker family from Pennsylvania who migrate to the Carolinas. Differences in viewpoint about the Negroes and other matters have brought trouble throughout. The family here carry their huge cooperative effort for tenants and sharecroppers through physically violent opposition toward idealistic success. The author evidently has unlimited faith in the potentialities of cooperation.

A Fair Wind Home. By Ruth Moore. New York: William Morrow & Co. Pp. 312. \$3.50.

After writing illuminating novels involving present problems among the old families on the Maine coast, Ruth Moore now turns to pre-Revolutionary adventure and expansion on that rugged shore.

The Plantation. By Ovid Williams Pierce. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co. Pp. 217. \$3.00.

It is difficult to characterize the quality of this chronicle, although it lingers in memory. Through the musings and recollections of relatives and devoted servitors, the selfless life of Mr. Ed on his isolated plantation is disclosed. As he is stricken and dies, there is this belated recognition of the quiet nobility with which the responsibilities of a diverse family and involved affairs have been assumed and carried through.

The Sojourner. By Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 313. \$3.50.

In thoughtful and moving fashion, Mrs. Rawlings here registers perhaps her finest achievement. The scene is upper New York; the time is the 80 years ending in the 1940's. The sojourner is a farmer so devoted to land and all it signifies that exact worship scarcely counts with him. Land is life, not a material possession, to be cultivated and cared for with dedication. Such a man is necessarily lonely and nearly a mystic. Always he feels this, in spite of a

large family of distinct characteristics, and an active life.

The Light in the Forest. By Conrad Richter. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Pp. 179. \$2.50.

Written with its author's widely recognized individual charm, this has been aptly termed a brief, evocative parable of a white boy taken captive by Indians and growing up to prefer their free and untrammelled ways to the tight, fenced-in life of his blood brothers. His forced return to his own family provided the inner and outer conflict, the drama.

Cress Delahanty. By Jessamyn West. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. Pp. 311. \$3.75.

Episodes in the adolescence of a changing, striving, self-willed girl in California growing toward womanhood, watched and guided by patient parents who are often severely tried but endeavor always to understand, make this a delightful compassionate comedy, of real appeal. Some of the chapters have been published as short stories.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Analysis of Social Problems. Edited by Morris G. Caldwell and Laurence Foster. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1954. Pp. xvi + 715. \$6.50.

The Australian Way of Life. Edited by Georg Caiger. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. Pp. xvi + 158. \$3.00.

Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification. Edited by Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953. Pp. 725. \$7.50.

Colonial Development and Population in Taiwan. By George W. Barclay. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1954. \$5.00.

Competicao Monopolistica nos Minerios do Brasil a Previdencia Social. By Salviano Cruz. Lisboa: Revista de Pesquisas Economico-sociais, 1953. Pp. xxiii + 211.

County and Regional Library Development. By Gretchen K. Schenk. Chicago: American Library Association, 1954. Pp. vii + 263. \$5.25.

Defense Against Recession: Policy for Greater Economic Stability. A statement on National Policy by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, New York 22, N. Y., March, 1954 (mimeographed). Pp. 54.

First Steps in Social Research (with Spanish Translation). By Manuel C. Elmer. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1954. Pp. viii + 133. \$2.50.

Group Relations at the Crossroads. Edited by Muzafer Sherif and M. O. Wilson. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953. Pp. viii + 365. \$4.00.

The Historical Roots of Learning Theory. By Horace B. English. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1954. Pp. 21. \$0.65.

Land Problems and Policies. By V. Webster Johnson and Raleigh Barlowe. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1954. Pp. xi + 422. \$6.30.

The Natural Man. By Clarence Leuba. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1954. Pp. x + 70. \$0.95.

Paying for Medical Care in the United States. By Oscar N. Serbein, Jr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. Pp. xxiv + 543.

Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences. Edited by Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz. New York: The Dryden Press, 1953. Pp. xi + 660. \$5.90.

Sociology. By Emory S. Bogardus. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954. Pp. xv + 616. \$5.00.

The South African Way of Life. Edited by G. H. Calpin. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. Pp. x + 200. \$3.50.

Statistical Methods in Experimentation: An Introduction. By Oliver L. Lacey. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953. Pp. xi + 249. \$4.50.

Statistical Yearbook, 1953. Prepared by the Statistical Office of the United Nations. New York: United Nations, 1953. Pp. 578. \$7.50.

Symbolic Wounds. By Bruno Bettelheim. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1945. Pp. 286. \$4.75.

Turrialba: Social Systems and the Introduction of Change. Edited and directed by Charles P. Loomis, Julio O. Morales, Roy A. Clifford, and Olen E. Leonard. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953. Pp. viii + 288. \$3.50.

Wait the Withering Rain: Studies in the Conditions of Survival and Peace Be-

yond 1976. By Austin L. Porterfield. Fort Worth, Tex.: Leo Potishman Foundation, 1953. Pp. x + 147. \$2.50.

World Population and Production: Trends and Outlook. By W. S. Woytinsky and E. S. Woytinsky. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1953. Pp. xxii + 1,258. \$12.00.

BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Louis J. Ducoff*

Implications for American Cooperatives from Danish Membership Experience.
William S. Folkman. Cornell Univ.
Rur. Soc. Dept. Mimeo. Bull. 41, Ithaca,
N. Y. 27 pp. Oct. 1953.

This bulletin is a brief summary of what is reported to be the first field investigation of member relations in Danish dairy cooperatives. Three local dairy cooperatives were studied, one in each of the three major regions of Denmark. The field work was completed by the author in 1949-1950, and an analysis of the data was presented in a doctor's thesis at Cornell University. An attempt was made in this summary bulletin to compare the results of this research with similar research completed in the United States. Cornell theses of Gibson, Losey, and John, and the more recent Iowa study by Beal, Fessler, and Wakeley were used for comparison.

The members of the Danish cooperatives are described in terms of selected "socio-cultural background" factors such as: age, marital status, schooling, size of farm, number of cows milked, years of farming, years on present farm, proportion of life lived in present community, proportions of adult sons in agriculture, number of cooperatives to which the farmer belongs, membership in farm organizations, membership in church by type of church, and membership in all organizations. Most of these factors were used as a basis for the analysis of the differential knowledge about, participation in, and attitudes toward the cooperatives studied.

Although certain qualifications are made, several general conclusions may be noted:

1. Danish dairy farmers appeared to have a greater knowledge of cooperative principles than did the members of cooperatives in the American studies cited.
2. Danish farmers seemed to participate more in their cooperatives. Participation was measured in terms of patronizing, attending general meetings, showing interest in policy formation, and being board members.
3. Danish farmers' opinions were more favorable toward their cooperatives than were the opinions of the American farmers.
4. There were some significant differences in knowledge of principles, participation, and member opinions, when these were analyzed on the basis of the socio-cultural background factors mentioned above.
5. Little or no interrelation was found between participation, knowledge, and opinion.

Some of these conclusions were accounted for in terms of the following description of the cooperatives in the two cultures. Danish cooperatives were found to be small, locally autonomous units in intimate, neighborly social settings—an integral part of the farmer's total community and of the basic value system of the Danish culture. They have social as well as economic functions. Such a setting is conducive to the development of a high degree of member involvement and solidarity. Over 90 per cent of the dairy products are marketed through cooperatives. Only 4 per cent of the farmers had ever patronized a private dairy. Farmers in this study belonged, on the average, to more than ten cooperatives. On the other hand, American milk marketing cooperatives are described as being quite separate from the community life and regarded as just another business organization—and in most cases competing with other types of business. The Danish cooperatives are credited with having more stability and higher member involvement, while the American system is more flexible, especially in relation to fluctuating economic conditions.

The author is to be congratulated because: (1) he has attempted to account for the origin and nature of the cooperative as a product of social and economic conditions; (2) he has analyzed the cooperative as a part of the social milieu, not as an isolated social grouping; (3) there has been a limited attempt to integrate research findings from different geographic areas; (4) there is the suggestion that we in America may be able to learn from the group experiences of people in other cultures (as in fact we did originally of the cooperative movement itself) and that we might be able to apply some of the findings to solve our own group problems.

If this study is going to be used as a base for future research, certain questions related to the bulletin may be raised:

*Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

1. If the intent was to compare the findings of the present study with what have been regarded as the basic studies in America, why were the works of John and Stern at Pennsylvania State College not used?
2. The tendency seems to be to regard member relations as ends in themselves. If one assumes that the major functional objective of cooperative associations is rational participation in them by farmers in order to maximize the profits of their individual farm firms, then should not "good" member relations be analyzed as means to that end rather than ends in themselves?
3. While the author does recognize that there is more to participation than patronage, he does not take into account such elements of participation in cooperative associations as financing, sharing costs, bearing risks, getting facts and understandings, and the sharing of benefits.
4. The same criticisms could be made of this study that in general may apply to most social participation research. Most of the factors related to participation in these studies are "static." Such factors as age, marital status, size of farm, etc., are static in the sense that in general they can not be changed by the membership, lay leaders, or professional leaders. They are valuable for pure description. A more intensive gathering of data on more "dynamic" factors—such as understanding of basic principles, knowledge of facts about the cooperatives, satisfaction with the cooperative, identity with the cooperative, having a say in the policy determination, criticisms by type, definition of the role of the cooperative, etc.—and relating these factors to participation in the cooperative association might provide more meaningful answers for those interested in maximizing member participation so cooperatives can better "... fulfill their avowed function."

GEORGE M. BEAL.

Department of Economics and Sociology,
Iowa State College.

Achieving Farm Ownership in South Dakota through the Farm Ownership Program of the Farmers Home Administration. Canute M. Johnson. S. D. Agr. Expt. Sta. Agr. Econ. Pamph. 47, Brookings. 148 pp. July 1953.

In reading this publication one ought to become deeply interested in the methodological issues involved. For, after following the author for 121 pages of detailed comparisons between the "client group" and the "control group," one comes upon the following disclaimer (p. 122):

The validity and reliability of the results of this study appear to be restricted by a number of factors. First, the relatively small number of cases which, even though paired, represent such a wide variety of types of farming, managerial ability, and soil and weather conditions that chance variations could easily influence the results more than the factors to which the results were attributed. Second, the extensive and superficial treatment of a relatively large number of factors unduly complicated the study without necessarily adding materially to the quality of the results. Third, non-randomness of the sample precluded applying statistical techniques to determine the significance of the results.

It is rare indeed to find such a frank appraisal by an author of his work. Johnson is to be commended for this attitude—an attitude which must be maintained as the core of our code of scientific ethics. On the other hand, the question arises as to the judgment involved in releasing the report to the public. As scientists we must assume the responsibility for determining the probable interpretations of our work.

The issue at hand can be made clear, perhaps, by reference to the selection of cases used in the study. The objective was to select 30 Farm Ownership borrowers and 30 control cases in such a manner as to meet three conditions: (1) The client group was to be representative of the entire population of paid-up Farm Ownership clients in South Dakota. (2) Both client and nonclient groups were to represent similar social and financial conditions at the same initial point in time. (3) The period of farm ownership and its location in time was to be identical for both groups. If these three conditions could be met, the over-all hypothesis governing the inquiry was that the value and effectiveness of the Farm Ownership loan program could be derived from a comparison of the social and economic progress of the two groups.

One may choose to agree or to disagree with the selection of these three control items as well as the criteria used for determining the success or failure of the Farm Ownership program. But how many are in a position to assess the modifications made in the drawing of the samples or the significance of other underlying assumptions?

With regard to the latter, it is interesting to note the following: "The desire for proximity in geographic location is based upon the assumption that the nearer the two cases were located to each other, the more likely they were to have experienced similar weather conditions and to have farmed similar soil types. In this way, two very important variables were controlled, or, at least, the variations minimized to insure reasonable comparability in these respects since these variables were not to be measured" (pp. 28-29). Very neat indeed to be able to control two important variables in this manner!

Despite these deficiencies in the data, the reader will find 51 tables in the main text and another 13 tables in the appendices. Each group of 30 schedules was tabulated by tenure classes and geographic areas. This involved three tenure classes and two geographic areas. And, despite the disclaimer quoted above, the author concludes that "simple averaging appeared to be the only statistical treatment which could be validly applied to the data" (p. 35). Such a concept of validity is deceptive in the extreme.

The task which Johnson undertook was difficult to say the least. And lest we adopt too readily a "holier than thou" attitude toward this particular publication, let us review critically the literature in our field. It may serve to strengthen our interest in methodology.

BALDUR H. KRISTJANSON.

Department of Agricultural Economics,
North Dakota Agricultural College.

Transferring the Farm to the Next Generation. Robert S. Smith. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 901, Ithaca, N. Y. 80 pp. Oct. 1953.

This report adds another contribution to the dozen formal publications in the field of father-son farming arrangements which have been released by land-grant colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture over the past few years. Briefly stated, the principal hypotheses of the present study were: (1) Farm titles are transferred in a number of ways, and each way has a proper place, and (2) few father-son arrangements are designed to permit sound transfers of farm land. In addition, five objectives, for which the author believed insufficient evidence existed, were outlined for study (p. 10).

Undoubtedly the data gathered are extremely useful to agriculturists and others in New York State who are interested in

the equitable handling of family farm transfers. At least for the areas and types of farming studied, the research provides an understanding of the methods of farm transfer and the advantages and disadvantages of each. With this knowledge, those concerned with the problem should find ways to help New York farmers. The information regarding wills, joint ownership, etc., together with the author's recommendations (pp. 77-80), is a valuable contribution to the growing volume of information on father-son farming relationships.

However, throughout the report the need for an over-all estate plan for the farm owner is implied but not explicitly stated. A clearer presentation might have resulted if the author had stated expressly the need for such a plan that takes into account the estate owner's old-age requirements, disposal of his estate in a way that he deems fair, tax impacts, emergency needs for the estate owner and his family, and other factors. The trust—a very useful device in minimizing taxes and transferring ownership—is not covered, presumably because none of the farms studied used this device.

In the initiation of the study, the author appears to have had sufficient knowledge to lead him directly into the natural-history stage in inquiry. He was then confronted with the problems of description and classification. If his descriptive techniques and classifications are open to issue, the controversial aspects probably impinge upon the merits or demerits of the case-study method for drawing inferences.

Quite aside from the method of approach, certain limitations appear which could have been avoided by better editorial organization. For example, in the introduction (p. 7) the author interjects the importance of the "cycle of productivity," but from that point on it appears to have been ignored. Yet the age of the father at the time a son must make a career decision is a real problem. Table 15 (the last) appears on page 41, but there are 39 additional pages of text. Much of this text is presented in an *a priori* manner, such as "making a will" (p. 54). Also, a table of "definitions of terms" would have added considerable value to the bulletin.

Of the five study objectives (p. 10), the first does not appear to have been realized. This was "to observe and study critically prevailing methods of transferring family farms in New York." Failure to do so resulted from the non-random nature of the sample. It is true that the author stated he had insufficient funds for randomized

sampling; but when one deviates from randomness in drawing the sample, one very frequently limits the population for which he can draw valid inferences from the sample. In this case, the population is limited to five New York counties (p. 12), excluding marginal and part-time farm operations in those counties.

The other four objectives—which revolved around advantages and limitations of farm transfer methods, identification of farm transfer problems, a search for ways to minimize these problems, and the development of a fund of information for advisory purposes—appear to have been met to a considerable degree. In this reviewer's opinion, the author's conclusions and recommendations (p. 6) seem reasonable and sound.

DANIEL E. ALLEGER.

Department of Agricultural Economics,
Florida Agricultural Experiment Station.

Rural Taiwan—Problem and Promise. Arthur F. Raper. Good Earth Press, Ltd., Taipei, Taiwan, China. 296 pp. 1953.

This report presents the results of a special socio-economic study of rural Taiwan undertaken at the request of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction. The stated purposes of the study were:

1. To describe the effects of JCRR activities upon rural people.
2. To discover unmet rural needs, and suggest appropriate programs for their amelioration.
3. To learn the attitudes of rural leaders toward changes that have occurred in recent years.
4. To secure accurate measurements and objective description of current socio-economic conditions of rural people in representative areas of the island; many of these measurements will be useful as benchmarks against which further changes can be measured.

On the basis of sampling procedures, information was obtained from township records, through conferences with local leaders, and from detailed interviews with individual householders. This made it possible, on the one hand, to set forth objective relationships suggesting specific rural problems and to indicate progress made in recent years. And on the other hand, through conferences and interviews, it was possible to determine what the people themselves considered to be their greater needs and whether they felt that such needs have been given proper emphasis in action programs.

Generally speaking, the purposes of the report are fulfilled in chapters 1, 3, 5, 6, and 12. The remaining portions provide much detail on various aspects of rural life in Taiwan, but (with the possible exception of chapter 9, dealing with health and sanitation, and chapter 11, dealing with education) do not seem to have been tied in closely with the central purposes of the report. The chapters on village and township organization, family life, and religion are generally interesting and informative to the reader not previously acquainted with rural Taiwan; but there would seem to be little new in these sections for members of the Joint Commission, who had already been working in Taiwan for three years before the study was undertaken. The relatively extended space devoted to these topics might be justified more easily if the author had gone one step further in many instances to suggest differing methods of approach in extension activities appropriate to the varying characteristics of the people.

It is somewhat surprising to find that approximately one-third of the report is given over to interesting photographs and pictorial charts. The impression is inescapable that this volume was intended to have distribution far beyond the Joint Commission—that an unstated purpose was to provide an introduction to rural Taiwan. As such, Raper's report has considerable popular appeal.

RILEY H. KIRBY.

Foreign Agricultural Service,
U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Rhode Island Rural Housing and Family Leisure. Ethyl R. Grady, Grace H. Smith, and Blanche M. Kuschke. R. I. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 315, Kingston. 47 pp. Apr. 1953.

This study of leisure activities in relation to the house and facilities is based on a field study of 400 families with case studies of 50. The report was a part of the Northeastern Regional Housing Project.

Sample areas were selected from rural sections in 23 towns; two-thirds of the schedules taken were from farm families and one-third from nonfarm. Fifty of the families were asked to keep detailed records of leisure activities for four consecutive weeks. Activities were recorded daily by the homemaker and checked weekly by the supervisor.

Data from the two sources, the field study and the case study, followed a similar pattern, although the report of activities in the case study showed a higher degree of par-

ticipation by family members than in the field study. Activities of various family members were diversified and varied somewhat with family size and composition, educational attainment, economic level, place of residence, and source of income.

Every type of room was used for leisure activities, but the living room, kitchen, and dining room were used by the largest proportion of families. Except for entertainment with food, activities carried on by the family as a group were usually in the living room. Children used bedrooms, dining rooms, basements, and playrooms more than adults.

Specialized equipment and furniture for leisure activities often presented a storage problem for these families. Things were stored wherever there was space, with little relation to the place of use. About two-thirds of the families desired additional equipment or furniture, and many wanted structural changes such as additional rooms, conveniences, and storage space.

The authors attempt to establish the housing requirements for various categories of leisure activities, such as quiet, music, hobbies, games, entertaining, and those occurring outside the house. They recognize the limitation of their data, and therefore the suggestions are general rather than specific. They emphasize the importance of several different locations for such activities as reading, listening to the radio, and hobbies, if all family members are to be able to follow their interests.

The study, although largely descriptive in nature, is a necessary prerequisite to a research program designed to develop more adequate housing. The variability among families in the type and number of leisure activities, and hence the need for flexibility in living space and storage facilities, certainly is pointed up by this report.

FRANCENA L. NOLAN.

Department of Agricultural Economics
and Rural Sociology,
The Pennsylvania State University.

Family Living Expenditures and Income for Farm and City Families in Miami County, Indiana. Stanley M. Hunter and J. Carroll Bottum. Purdue Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 588, Lafayette, Ind. 39 pp. May 1953.

This report is based on a 1946 study of 200 randomly selected farms in 12 residential areas of representative Indiana townships in Miami County. The objective of the study was the comparison of family in-

come and living expenditures for farm and city families.

Expenditures were higher for large than for small families, but the authors report that there was no significant difference between farm and city families in cash income received or in dollar value of goods and services consumed. As educational level rose, income increased. Laborsaving equipment was found about as often in farm as in city homes, with certain items, such as home freezers, found more often on the farm. The home-produced food consumed by farm families helped materially to bring about the equalization of family living. Social participation was materially greater among families with incomes above average.

Incomes varied directly with educational level. The average educational level of husbands and wives was approximately the tenth grade in both farm and city areas. It took city husbands longer than farm husbands to reach incomes of over \$4,000. On the other hand, farm husbands remained in the lower income brackets until a more advanced age than city husbands. Children were concentrated heavily in the income class between \$2,000 and \$4,000.

This study is a useful guide to anyone interested in understanding spending patterns of middle-class families. The publication has an attractive two-tone cover and a clear, well-written text, interspersed with charts, tables, and photographs. Distinct type face on slick paper is heavily leaded for reading ease.

ROBERT M. CARTER.

Department of Agricultural Economics
and Rural Sociology,
University of Vermont.

The Broken Home in Teenage Adjustments. Paul H. Landis. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 542, Pullman. 33 pp. June 1953.

This bulletin is the fourth in a unique series dealing with marriage, adolescents, and their problems, issued by the Washington Experiment Stations. The studies are conducted within the framework of the author's texts, *Adolescence and Youth and Social Policies in the Making*.

The study opens and closes with comments about the broken home as a social problem. The incidence of family dismemberment, by types, is provided both for the United States and for the state of Washington. With this backdrop, the incidence of problems of 4,394 high-school seniors, and their reactions to specific aspects of family and community life are analyzed by

type-of-home background—that is, whether the student's home is intact or broken by separation, divorce, or death. Nearly a fourth of the high-school seniors' homes were broken at the time of the study.

Landis discovers a number of interesting similarities and differences among seniors from unbroken and broken homes. Students from broken homes faced more severe economic problems, felt their homes were economically below the community's norm, and had more than their share of personal, family, and self-placement problems. It is not entirely clear from Landis' exposition that these differences are statistically significant.

Landis speculates freely, both in the exposition of findings and in his conclusions, to account for the similarities and differences among seniors by categories of broken homes. To render his speculations more acceptable, they should be treated as hypotheses to test in future comparative studies about the differential meaning of separation, divorce, and death for the adolescent child. Landis finds, for example, that seniors from broken homes have a more mature understanding of adult life and its problems, are more economically mature, and are more likely to feel an integral part of the family's operations than are seniors from unbroken homes. If these be more than chance findings, studies in the processes of socialization of children in different types of broken homes surely are needed to demonstrate how these maturities are developed.

REUBEN HILL.

Department of Sociology,
University of North Carolina,
and
College of Social Sciences,
University of Puerto Rico.

Farmers' Conceptions and Plans for Economic Security in Old Age. William H. Sewell, Charles E. Ramsey, and Louis J. Ducoff. Wis. Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bull. 182, in cooperation with Bur. Agr. Econ., USDA, Madison. 23 pp. Sept. 1953.

Old Age and Retirement in Rural Connecticut: 2. Economic Security of Farm Operators and Farm Laborers. Walter C. McKain, Jr., Elmer D. Baldwin, and Louis J. Ducoff. Conn. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 299, in cooperation with Bur. Agr. Econ., USDA, Storrs. 51 pp. June 1953.

As indicated in the bibliographical data above, these bulletins are the result of co-

operative studies by state and federal workers. Consequently, they have comparable designs and follow similar methods of analysis and presentation. Both studies were made during the summer of 1951; the samples consisted of 658 farm operators in two economic areas of Wisconsin and 383 farm operators and 123 regular hired workers in two economic areas of Connecticut. (Note: The Connecticut authors doubled the frequencies on their tabulations for one of the areas, so that the farm operator total in the tables appears as 640.)

Most of the farmers in both states expect to depend upon the farm for financing retirement. In fact, few farm operators in either sample had made any plans for retirement or given the matter much thought. Only 15 per cent of the operators in Connecticut expected to retire, and practically none had made any plans. In Wisconsin, about a third expected to retire. In the poor farm area of Wisconsin, 45 per cent of the operators either were uncertain as to source of income for retirement, or knew that they had none. The corresponding percentage for the better area was 21. The farm labor group (Connecticut) was "counting heavily on old age benefits."

Of the Wisconsin group, 40 per cent estimated they would be able to take care of themselves when and if they retired; the older they were, the more confident they were of their ability to take care of themselves. In Connecticut, 52 per cent of the operators thought they could take care of themselves on their own resources after retirement. Again, the same relationship to age was observed.

The estimated amounts needed for retirement ran around \$200 a month for both the operators and laborers in Connecticut. (How strong is the Townsend movement there!) In Wisconsin, the estimates ran much lower, between \$75 and \$150 per month.

Both studies report considerable disillusionment with the degree of "security" associated with farming. In Wisconsin, 70 per cent of the operators felt that farming provides no greater security than any other occupation. A somewhat lower percentage was reported for Connecticut, where "less than half of the operators and only a fourth of the laborers believe that farming today gives its people a better opportunity to provide for economic security in old age than do other occupations."

The tendency of farmers to carry life insurance varies with age and with economic area. In Wisconsin, half the farmers in the poorer farm area and a third of those in

the better one had no insurance. The proportions without insurance rose with age. Only 18 per cent of the farmers under 35 in the better area of Wisconsin were without insurance protection. The younger men also tended to carry larger amounts. In Connecticut, about one-third of the operators had no life insurance; only 20 per cent had accident insurance, although over half of the commercial farm operators carried health insurance. In Wisconsin, the proportions carrying accident insurance were somewhat higher than in Connecticut, but still amounted to only 38 per cent in one economic area and 45 in the other. Two-thirds of the Wisconsin farmers were without health and hospital insurance.

Special interest attaches to the survey of opinions of these farm people regarding extension of Old Age and Survivors Insurance to farm people. In Wisconsin, 69 per cent in the poorer area and 57 per cent in the good area approved the extension. In Connecticut, 80 per cent of the farmers expressed general approval of the Old Age and Survivors Insurance program, the corresponding figure for the farm laborers being 88 per cent. In general, the Connecticut operators seemed to respond in this study in a manner closely comparable with those in the poorer area in Wisconsin.

The Connecticut study also reports the opinions of 86 employers of farm labor regarding the operation of the OASI program, which in 1950 was extended to cover regularly employed farm laborers. The authors report little difficulty being encountered by the farmers in meeting requirements of the act; they saw "little evidence" of evasion; and they found that 80 per cent of the employers thought regular workers should continue to be covered.

These studies are important in that they add information in a field where information is extremely scarce—one might say almost nonexistent. Also, this is a field which is likely to become more important from the standpoint of public policy, and where reliable information is needed badly as a basis for consideration of alternative proposals.

LOWRY NELSON.

Department of Sociology,
University of Minnesota.

Employment Redistribution of Korean Veterans. Joe R. Motheral and Gladys K. Bowles. USDA Agr. Inf. Bull. 120, Washington, D. C. 24 pp. Jan. 1954.

An obligatory period of military training and service has emerged as a "fact of life"

for the vast majority of young men presently coming of age. The possible effect of military-service experience upon the life pattern of these young men is a subject which is likely to command the increasing attention of social scientists in coming years. The present report marks an initial contribution to this area of study.

The report is based upon a special survey, conducted for the U. S. Department of Agriculture by the Bureau of the Census, as a supplement to its monthly Current Population Survey for June, 1953. This study compares the preservice and post-service residence, employment status, and occupational distribution of the 1.9 million veterans separated from service since the Korean outbreak. Its principal finding, of special interest to the rural sociologist, is that only about half of the 200,000 veterans who had been employed in agriculture prior to their military service were working on farms in June, 1953. While most of the Korean veterans who were self-employed farm operators before entering service had returned to the farm, few of the preservice farm wage workers and even fewer of the unpaid workers on family farms apparently had done so.

The authors carefully, and properly, avoid any sweeping inferences from the above data. The Korean veterans generally fall into age groups normally characterized by a high degree of mobility. The very favorable nonfarm job situation prevailing at the time of their separation from service was, in any event, conducive to a high rate of transfer from farm to nonfarm employment. Nevertheless, comparisons with the limited available data on employment shifts of male nonveterans in the same age groups indicate that the degree of movement was somewhat greater among the veterans. It seems reasonable to assume that—even after allowing for all the selective factors at work—their military experience, by interrupting the normal life routine for these youth and by exposing them to a variety of nonagricultural skills, did, to some extent, accelerate the prevailing movement away from the farm.

It is still, obviously, much too early to attempt to generalize from the experience of this initial—and not completely representative—group of Korean veterans to the much larger groups who will be completing their active military service obligations in the next several years, possibly in a somewhat different employment climate. It is hoped that the agencies concerned will find it possible to conduct similar surveys

at periodic intervals in the future as part of a continuous evaluation of these trends.

HAROLD WOOL.

Office of Manpower Utilization,
U. S. Department of Defense.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

American Vocational Association, Agricultural Education Section, Research Committee. *Summaries of Studies in Agricultural Education. An Annotated Bibliography of Studies in Agricultural Education with Classified Subject Index.* Supplement No. 7. Vocational Div. Bull. 253, Agr. Series 64, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. 75 pp. 1954.

Burnight, Robert G. *Connecticut Births: By Order of Birth and by Age of Mother.* Conn. Agr. Expt. Sta. INF-49, Storrs. 15 pp. June 1953.

Cagle, Arthur J. *Part-Time Farming in Washington.* Wash. State Col. Ext. Circ. 236, Pullman. 12 pp. Oct. 1953.

Folsom, Josiah C. (Compiler.) *Agricultural Labor in the United States, 1943-52: A Selected List of Annotated References.* USDA Library List 61, Washington, D. C. 170 pp. Mar. 1954.

Francis, E. K. *The Mennonite School Problem in Manitoba, 1874-1919. Miscellaneous Documents Concerning School and Military Service. A Bibliography on the Mennonites in Manitoba.* Reprint from Mennonite Quarterly Review, Goshen, Ind. Pp. 204-248. July 1953.

Green, James W. *Implications for Educators in a Research Study Entitled "The Farmhouse Building Process in North Carolina."* N. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Prog. Rpt. Rs-19, Raleigh. 18 pp. Mar. 1954.

Hamilton, C. Horace. *Net Migration to and from North Carolina and North Carolina Counties from 1940 to 1950; Estimates Based on the Vital Statistics Residual Method.* N. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Prog. Rpt. Rs-18, Raleigh. 6 pp. Sept. 1953.

Hilleboe, Herman E. and Boek, Walter E. *Opinions about the Policies and Activi-*

ties of the American Public Health Association by 216 Members in the New York State Department of Health. New York State Dept. of Health, Albany. 45 pp. Aug. 1953.

Johansen, John P. *The Influence of Migration upon South Dakota's Population, 1930-50.* S. D. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 431, Brookings. 46 pp. July 1953.

Kantner, John F. and Kiser, Clyde V. *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility: XXII. The Interrelation of Fertility, Fertility Planning, and Inter-generational Social Mobility.* Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, New York. Pp. 69-103. Jan. 1954.

Kristjanson, Baldur H. and Brown, Jacob A. *Credit Needs of Beginning Farmers in Selected Areas of North Dakota.* N. D. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 386, Fargo. 31 pp. June 1953.

Lowdermilk, W. C. *Conquest of the Land through Seven Thousand Years.* USDA Agr. Inf. Bull. 99, Washington, D. C. 30 pp. Aug. 1953.

Miller, M. F. *Agriculture and the People of Our State, Our Nation and the World.* Mo. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 596, Columbia. 52 pp. May 1953.

Moser, Ada M. and Watson, Elizabeth S. *Menu Patterns and Food Preferences in South Carolina.* S. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 406, Clemson. 49 pp. June 1953.

Scoville, Orlin J. and Smith, Katherine A. *Part-Time Farming.* (Revised.) USDA Farmers' Bull. 1966, Washington, D. C. 20 pp. 1953.

The Population Problems Research Council. *Family Planning Movement in Japan. Population Problems Series No. 9.* The Mainichi Newspapers, Tokyo. 45 pp. 1953.

Ulvilden, James. *Farm Labor, Power and Machinery Performance for Selected Operations under Dryland and Irrigated Conditions in Central South Dakota.* (Revised.) S. D. Agr. Expt. Sta. Agr. Econ. Pamph. 43, Brookings. 53 pp. Aug. 1953.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Samuel W. Blizzard

THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR THE 1954 ANNUAL MEETING

The University of Illinois

Urbana, Illinois

September 6-8, 1954

Headquarters: Illini Union (air-conditioned)

Lodging: Lincoln Avenue Residence Hall

Rates: \$3.00 single, \$2.50 double.

\$1.50 for children under 15 (no charge for infants).

(\$25 per night discount for anyone staying four or more nights.)

Meals: Illini Union cafeteria and restaurant. Also several small restaurants near the campus.

Address reservations to: Ward W. Bauder
Department of Agricultural Economics
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6

9:00- 9:45 A. M. REGISTRATION AND INFORMAL VISITING

Meetings of Executive Committee, Board of Editors, Committee on Research, Committee on Teaching, Committee on Extension, and any other committees. Chairmen may arrange with Ward W. Bauder, of the University of Illinois, for rooms.

10:00-12:00 A. M. CONTRIBUTED RESEARCH PAPERS

Chairman: C. HORACE HAMILTON, North Carolina State College

Informal Groups as Barriers to the Diffusion of Farm Information
—HERBERT F. LIONBERGER, University of Missouri.

Additional Hypotheses in Participation Research—GEORGE M. BEAL, Iowa State College.

Some Hypotheses Relevant to the Agricultural Extension Service
—WAYNE C. ROHRER, University of Maryland.

An Evaluation of the Farmers Home Administration—JEAN and WALTER BOEK, New York State Department of Health.

Values of Farmers—With Reference to the Role of Government in Agriculture—GORDON J. CUMMINGS, Cornell University.

10:00-12:00 A. M. THE TEACHING OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Chairman: HAROLD F. KAUFMAN, Mississippi State College

Summary Papers and Discussions—by J. EDWIN LOSEY, Purdue University; WILLIAM W. REEDER, Cornell University; WM. McKINLEY ROBINSON, Western Michigan College of Education; LELAND B. TATE, Virginia Polytechnic Institute; A. F. WILEDEN, University of Wisconsin.

12:00 M.

LUNCHEON

Special luncheon meetings may be arranged for Executive Committee, Board of Editors, and other standing and special committees.

1:30- 3:30 P. M. CONTRIBUTED RESEARCH PAPERS

Chairman: C. HORACE HAMILTON, North Carolina State College

Some Sociological Aspects of Retirement Farming—DANIEL E. ALLEGER, University of Florida.

A Simplified Statistical Methodology for Determining Multi-Measure Indices as Research Tools—ALVIN BERTRAND and CHARLES H. COATES, Louisiana State University.

Rural Birth Rates and Migration, North Central States, 1940-1950—PAUL J. JEHLIK, Agricultural Marketing Service, United States Department of Agriculture.

Development of Occupational and Migration Expectations and Choices among Rural, Small Town, and Urban Adolescents—RAYMOND PAYNE, University of Georgia.

Old World Extinction and New World Survival of the Amish—JOHN A. HOSTETLER, Herald Press, Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

1:30- 3:30 P. M. HEALTH RESEARCH

Chairman: ROBERT L. McNAMARA, University of Missouri

Use of Birth Data in Delineation of Medical Service Areas—PETER NEW, University of Missouri and University of Michigan.

Health Programs and Community Action—HAROLD F. KAUFMAN, RICHARD TANNEHILL, and LUTHER SWORDS, Mississippi State College.

The Maintenance of Health: An Analysis of Milk Consumption among Urban Families—DUANE L. GIBSON and CHARLES R. HOFFER, Michigan State College.

3:45 P. M.

GENERAL BUSINESS MEETING

Presiding: N. L. WHETTEN, president, The Rural Sociological Society, University of Connecticut

Reports of Standing Committees: Committee on Research, Committee on Teaching, Committee on Extension, and Committee on Membership.

Reports of Special Committees: Historical Documents Committee, Population Census Committee, and Classes of Membership Committee.

7:30- 9:30 P. M. MAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Chairman: T. LYNN SMITH, University of Florida

Some Aspects of Man-Land Relations in Iran—REED BRADFORD, United States Technical Cooperation for Iran (on leave from Brigham Young University).

Systems of Agriculture in Ceylon—BRYCE RYAN, Cornell University.

The Colono System in Latin America—SAM SCHULMAN, University of Florida.

Land Tenure in the Philippines—ROBERT T. McMILLAN, United States of America Operations Mission to the Philippines.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7

8:00- 9:45 A. M. THE RURAL FAMILY

Co-chairmen: C. C. ZIMMERMAN, Harvard University, and W. B. BAKER, Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, Regina, Saskatchewan

Family and Population Control in Rural India—WILLIAM A. MORRISON, University of Connecticut.

Family and Fertility Planning in Puerto Rico—REUBEN HILL, University of North Carolina.

Familism in Rural Saskatchewan—COURTNEY B. CLELAND, North Dakota Agricultural College.

10:00-12:00 A. M. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Chairman: BRYCE RYAN, Cornell University

The Role of Stratification in Social Change in Underdeveloped Areas—KINGSLEY DAVIS, Columbia University.

The Changing Status Structure of Puerto Rico in Relation to United States—Puerto Rican Economic Ties—MELVIN M. TUMIN, Princeton University.

Stratification and Foreign-Trained Leadership in an Indian State—RUTH HILL USEEM, Lansing, Michigan.

12:00 M. LUNCHEON

Special luncheon meetings may be arranged for the Executive Committee, Board of Editors, and other standing and special committees.

1:30- 3:15 P. M. SOCIAL CHANGE IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Chairman: IRWIN T. SANDERS, University of Kentucky

Cultural Approach to Social Change—FELIKS GROSS, Brooklyn College.

Introducing a Rational Technical Bureaucracy in Guatemala—LEO A. SUSLOW, Economic Development Administration, Puerto Rico.

Social Change in India and Mexico—OSCAR LEWIS, University of Illinois.

3:30- 7:00 P. M. VISIT TO ALLERTON PARK

Dinner at Allerton Park.

7:00- 7:30 P. M. FINAL BUSINESS MEETING (at Allerton Park)

Presiding: N. L. WHETTEN, president, The Rural Sociological Society, University of Connecticut

Report—Managing Editor of *Rural Sociology*.

Report—Auditing Committee.

Report—Resolutions Committee.

Other Reports.

New Business.

7:30 P. M. RURAL RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS (at Allerton Park)

Chairman: CARL C. TAYLOR, Agricultural Marketing Service, United States Department of Agriculture

Rural Reconstruction in India—DOUGLAS ENSMINGER, Ford Foundation, New Delhi, India, and CARL C. TAYLOR, Agricultural Marketing Service, United States Department of Agriculture.

Rural Reconstruction in Canada—W. B. BAKER, Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, Regina, Saskatchewan.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

10:00-12:00 A. M. POPULATION DYNAMICS IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES (joint session with the American Sociological Society)*Co-chairmen:* CONRAD TAEUBER, Bureau of the Census, and KINGSLEY DAVIS, Columbia University**Population Change and Economic Development in Slovakia**—NORMAN LAWRENCE, Bureau of the Census.**Social Differentials in South India**—NOEL P. GIST, University of Missouri.**Family Structure and Fertility in Puerto Rico**—REUBEN HILL, KURT BACK, J. M. STYCOS, Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico.**Literacy and Social Change in Underdeveloped Countries**—HILDA HERTZ, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University.**1:30- 3:15 P. M. COMMUNITIES—SMALL TOWN AND RURAL** (joint session with the American Sociological Society)*Chairman:* SAMUEL W. BLIZZARD, Pennsylvania State University**Demographic Characteristics of American Villages**—OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN, University of Chicago.**The Cotton Plantation in Transition**—HARALD A. PEDERSEN, Mississippi State College.**The Relationship of Family Type to Social Participation**—JOHN FRANK SCHMIDT and WAYNE C. ROHRER, University of Maryland.**Some Problems of Communication between Professional and Community Social Systems**—CHRISTOPHER SOWER, Michigan State College.**Preference and Prejudice Patterns among Rural and Urban School-mates**—LOUIS H. ORZACK, Indiana University.**1:30- 3:15 P. M. SOCIOLOGY AND HEALTH** (joint session with the American Sociological Society and the Society for the Study of Social Problems)*Chairman:* WALTER E. BOEK, New York State Department of Health**Social Components of Illness and Health**—RAYMOND MANGUS, Ohio State University.**Cultural Values and Social Roles and Their Relation to Illness and Health as Observed through an Analysis of the Family**—JOHN SPIEGEL, Harvard School of Social Studies.**Epidemiology of Illness**—CLYDE W. HART, National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago.**Human Organization for Health**—JOHN B. HOLLAND, PAUL A. MILLER, and KENNETH TIEDKE, Michigan State College.**3:30- 5:30 P. M. COMMUNICATIONS IN RURAL LIFE** (joint session with the American Sociological Society)*Chairman:* CLINTON L. FOLSE, University of Illinois**Communication and Technological Change among Farmers**—EUGENE A. WILKENING, University of Wisconsin.**Selected Dysfunctional Elements in Communicative Systems of Small American Communities: A Statement of Needed Research**—PAUL A. MILLER, Michigan State College.**Differential Communication among Farmers**—A. LEE COLEMAN, University of Kentucky.

8:00 P. M.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES (joint meeting with the American Sociological Society and the Society for the Study of Social Problems)

Chairman: HERBERT BLUMER, University of California, Berkeley
 Welcome—by the University of Illinois.

Sociologists in an Integrating Society—ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE, president, Society for the Study of Social Problems.

Land Reform in a Modern World—NATHAN L. WHETTEN, president, The Rural Sociological Society.

Title to be announced—FLORIAN ZNANIECKI, president, American Sociological Society.

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Columbia University. Edmund deS. Brunner, who is spending the second semester and summer of 1954 in the Union of South Africa as director of the new Institute of Social Research at the University of Natal, received the LL.D. degree, *honoris causa*, at the celebration of the university's fifth anniversary. On March 31, the Natal Sociological Society was organized. Brunner was the inaugural speaker.

Sloan R. Wayland has been promoted to associate professor.

University of Kentucky. At the recent annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Irwin T. Sanders, distinguished professor of sociology, was elected president for the year 1955-56.

On April 13, the university presented Guy B. Johnson, professor of sociology and anthropology at the University of North Carolina, in a public lecture on "Racial De-segregation in the South." While on the campus, Johnson met with sociology seminars and student and community groups interested in this subject.

This year, for the fourth consecutive summer, a six-week Seminar on Intergroup Relations will be held on the campus. Gordon Lovejoy, of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, will again serve as director, and Sidney Kaplan, instructor in sociology, will serve as assistant director. The seminar is jointly sponsored by the university and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Howard W. Beers, head of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology, has been elected chairman for 1954-55 of the North Central Regional Rural Sociology Committee, sponsored by the Farm Foundation.

C. Arnold Anderson, professor of sociology, will be on sabbatic leave during the academic year 1954-55, and is planning a research itinerary in Scandinavia and elsewhere in Europe.

Ralph J. Ramsey, field agent in rural sociology, has been appointed to the faculty

for the Southern Regional Extension School, to be held on the University of Arkansas campus during the summer. He will teach a course on the Use of Groups in Extension Work.

Gilbert Hardee, graduate student, has been appointed a community development specialist on the staff of the Point IV-Near East Foundation Mission to Iran. He leaves June 1. A year ago he returned from a sojourn in Australia as a Fulbright research scholar.

The Sociology Department's Bureau of Community Service presented its "Community School-for-a-Day" program for a second time on May 3, 1954. This school was held on the campus of Murray State College, in collaboration with that institution, especially for community leaders in western Kentucky.

James W. Gladden, associate professor of sociology, recently conducted a workshop on Marriage and Family Life Education at Mississippi State College.

Recent consultants for the Societies around the World course, offered jointly by the Departments of Anthropology, Geography, and Sociology, have been William Kajib, a member of the Baganda kingdom, Uganda, Africa, and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Jones, Navajo Indians from Window Rock, Arizona. One or more consultants are brought in each semester to consult with the staff and speak to classes.

The following are currently serving as graduate assistants in the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology; Leonard Griswold, Edwin Hanna, Jerome Lailicht, Paul Richardson, and James N. Young. Gordon Lewis holds a university scholarship, and Herbert Aurbach is a technical assistant.

Louisiana State University. Homer L. Hitt, head of the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology, has recently been appointed clinical professor of preventive medicine in the University School of Medicine.

Vernon J. Parenton, Paul H. Price, and Roland J. Pellegrin served as special lecturers in the Neuro-Psychiatry Residency Program of the University School of Medicine during the first semester of 1953-54.

Alvin L. Bertrand and Paul H. Price are serving as special lecturers in the University English Language and Orientation Program for foreign students. The university has published a text by Bertrand, *Social Life in the U.S.A.* (an introductory volume for foreign students), for use in this program.

The Department of Rural Sociology has been awarded a grant by the Louisiana Heart Association to study the knowledge and attitudes of Louisianians relative to heart disease. Alvin L. Bertrand has been appointed supervisor of this project, and Clarence A. Storla is project leader.

Marion B. Smith spent the summer of 1953 in Panama as special lecturer in the university's Armed Forces Caribbean Area Program. While there, he did research on the marriage and family customs of the San Blas Indians living on small islands off the coast of Panama.

Rudolf Heberle has been invited to present a paper entitled, "Migratory Mobility," at the World Population Conference, to be held in Rome, Italy, August 31 through September 10, 1954. In connection with his research on displaced persons, Heberle has been elected a member of the European Association for the Study of the Refugee Problem. The headquarters of this association is in Strasbourg, France.

George A. Hillery, Jr., research associate, received the Doctor of Philosophy degree in sociology in May, 1954. He has been appointed assistant professor of sociology at the Atlanta Division of the University of Georgia. He assumed his duties in June, 1954, teaching courses in General Sociology, Rural Sociology, and Urban Sociology.

Tuskegee Institute. Ernest Eugene Neal, director of the Rural Life Council, is serving with the U. S. Operations Mission in New Delhi, India, as a community development adviser.

State College of Washington. Paul H. Landis, professor of rural sociology and rural sociologist, will be on sabbatic leave for the academic year 1954-55. Landis plans to revise his text *Social Control* and to travel in various foreign countries studying family relationships and population problems.

LaMar T. Empey has been reappointed as research assistant for the coming academic year. He will be working on the

high school phase of the study of sociological and social-psychological aspects of the process of occupational choice by rural and urban youth.

Howard S. Swanson, a graduate student in the Department of Sociology, joined the staff of the Rural Sociology Department, February 1, 1954. He is working on a study of social-psychological factors involved in consumer preferences for given types of agricultural products. The study involves personal interviews with approximately 1,000 homemakers in the city of Seattle. It is sponsored by the Departments of Home Economics, Agricultural Economics, Poultry Science, and Rural Sociology.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

International Sociological Association. The *Centre d'Etudes Radiophoniques* of the *Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française* will organize an International Congress at Paris, October 27-30, 1954, which will deal with the sociological aspects of radio music. The congress is open to sociologists, musicians, and radio specialists of all countries of the world and will provide an opportunity for the interchange of information, opinions, and experiences.

The discussions of the congress will be organized under five principal sections:

- (1) transformation of social structure through radio music;
- (2) continuance and cultural value of radio music;
- (3) evolution of social and cultural rules through radio music;
- (4) nature and development of musical programs and their field of influence; and
- (5) the processes through which organizers and interpreters arrive at the establishment of their specific programs.

The working languages of the congress will be French and English. Documents will be distributed in French, English, and German. Public interpretation will be arranged from French to English and from English to French.

Sociologists, musicians, and radio specialists are invited to present papers (not exceeding 3,000 words), which will be distributed to the participants of the congress.

Papers should be addressed to A. Silbermann, executive director, International Congress, *Centre d'Etudes Radiophoniques R.T.F.*, 37 rue de l'Université, Paris 7e.

Persons intending to take part in the congress are requested to notify the con-

gress bureau of their wishes regarding hotel accommodation, which can be arranged through the bureau.

Details of the program will be circulated at a later date.

Eastern Sociological Society. The annual meeting was held at the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York, on April 3 and 4, 1954. Ira DeA. Reid, president, addressed the group on "The Social Protest: Cue and Catharsis," and Ralph W. Tyler, of the University of Chicago and director of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, was a guest speaker. New officers, who took office for the forthcoming fiscal year, were: Alfred McClung Lee, president; Vincent H. Whitney, vice-president; Ray H. Abrams, elected member of the Executive Committee; and Arthur L. Wood, secretary-treasurer. Other members of the Executive Committee are: Ira DeA. Reid, Wilbert E. Moore, August B. Hollingshead, and James H. Barnett.

Southern Sociological Society. The seventeenth annual meeting of the society was held at the Atlanta Biltmore, Atlanta, Georgia, March 25-27, 1954. The highlight of the meeting was Guy B. Johnson's presidential address, "A Sociologist Looks at Racial De-segregation in the South."

Officers elected for the ensuing year were: Morton B. King, Jr., president, University of Mississippi; Irwin T. Sanders, president-elect, University of Kentucky; Edgar T. Thompson, first vice-president, Duke University; Lorin A. Thompson, second vice-president, University of Virginia; and Melvin J. Williams, secretary-treasurer, Stetson University. James S. Himes, Jr., North Carolina College, and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Florida State University, were elected to serve three-year terms on the Executive Committee; C. A. McMahan, Maxwell Air Force Base, was elected to a two-year term on the Executive Committee; and William E. Cole, University of Tennessee, was elected as representative to the American Sociological Society. Continuing to serve as elected members of the Executive Committee are: Selz C. Mayo, North Carolina State College; Vernon J. Parenton, Louisiana State University; and Haskell M. Miller, University of Chattanooga.

Southwestern Sociological Society. The annual meeting of the society was held in Dallas on April 16 and 17, 1954. Officers elected for the coming year are: Sigurd Johansen, president, New Mexico College

of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts; Sandor B. Kovacs, vice-president, University of Tulsa; Alvin E. Bertrand, secretary-treasurer, Louisiana State University. Tillman Cothran, Arkansas College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, and Hiram Friedsam, North Texas State College, were elected members of the Executive Committee. Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University, and Kenneth Evans, East Texas State Teachers College, both past presidents of the society, are also on the Executive Committee. Walter Firey, University of Texas, is the sociology editor of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, and William L. Kolb, Tulane University, is the representative to the American Sociological Society.

PRIVATE AGENCIES

National Education Association: Department of Rural Education. At the annual meeting of the department in Atlantic City, in February, 1954, the following resolution was adopted:

"Inasmuch as there is a rapid growth of population in numerous rural areas adjacent to urban areas, be it resolved that further study be urged dealing with the resulting impact on the educational systems concerned, both rural and urban."

The attention of rural sociologists to the implications and problems in this area is invited. The Department of Rural Education will consider the possibility of undertaking studies which might have mutual benefits. Interested sociologists are invited to initiate correspondence with the executive secretary of the department, Howard A. Dawson.

Health Information Foundation. George Bugbee has been appointed president of the foundation. Odin W. Anderson and Charles P. Murphy continue to be director of research and assistant director of research, respectively.

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

U. S. Foreign Operations Administration. M. Taylor Matthews, recently associate professor of sociology with the University of Maryland Overseas Program, has joined the U. S. Operations Mission in Baghdad, Iraq, as a community analyst.

Carl C. Taylor is serving with the U. S. Operations Mission in New Delhi, India, as a regional community development adviser.

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALS

Eugenics Quarterly. This new journal is concerned with the qualitative aspects of population problems. It is intended to provide a meeting ground for the demographer, the student of human heredity, and the psychologist in their common interest in the genetic and social inheritance of various population groups. The quarterly is published by the American Eugenics Society, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. Membership dues are \$5.00 a year, including participation in the annual meeting and subscription to *Eugenics Quarterly*.

Human Biology. A recent change in the editorial policy of this quarterly journal is of interest to sociologists and demographers. Recent issues have included articles authored by demographers, sociologists, and applied anthropologists. Prospective authors are invited to submit manuscripts for consideration to Gabriel Lasker, editor, *Human Biology*, Wayne University, Detroit 7, Michigan. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore 18, Maryland, publishes the quarterly at a subscription rate of \$5.00 annually in the United States.

OBITUARY

WALTER R. HARRISON (1902-1954)

Walter R. Harrison, professor of social sciences, Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, died January 1, 1954. After receiving his doctorate in Rural Sociology at Cornell in 1944, he served as recreational director at the Richard Allen Housing Project in Philadelphia; as dean at Chafin College, Orangeburg, South Carolina; as professor of sociology at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri; and then as professor at Southern University from 1948 until his death.

Dr. Harrison was particularly interested in research and had published twelve bulletins and journal articles. They are chiefly about student attitudes toward religion and the church. A series of studies on youth problems and Negro church relationships were unfinished at the time of his death.

Dr. Harrison also developed a fine reputation as an inspiring teacher and student counselor. He was on the way to making an increasingly valuable contribution to Negro university life when his untimely death occurred. He had a host of friends who sincerely regret his passing.

W. A. ANDERSON.

Cornell University,
Ithaca, New York.

RECENT BOOKS PUBLISHED BY THE FREE PRESS, GLENCOE, ILLINOIS

TURRIALBA: SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND THE INTRODUCTION OF CHANGE

Edited by Charles P. Loomis, Julio O. Morales, Roy A. Clifford, and Olen E. Leonard, \$3.00

Of major importance is that Turrialba (Costa Rica) is studied with a view to the problem of the introduction of change. The hypotheses and methodology of this study are thus specially significant and the discussion and analysis of the social systems of Turrialba are of special value to social scientists preoccupied with problems of class and status systems, the selection of leaders in formal and informal groups, ecological studies and more.

MATHEMATICAL THINKING IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, \$10.00

With chapters by T. W. Anderson, Nicolas Rashevsky, James S. Coleman, Jacob Marschak, Louis Guttman, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and Herbert A. Simon. Lazarsfeld presents here for the first time the conceptual basis of his latent structure analysis as a general method of measurement in social science. Guttman further develops his technique of scale analysis for measuring attitudes, showing the significance of higher order principal components. In a second paper he looks at factor analysis in a new light, and by revising some of its basic assumptions, develops a new measurement tool. Mathematical models of systems of behavior are among the directions in which these contributions lead. Anderson applies the mathematics of stochastic processes to a study of attitude change. Rashevsky shows the developments in two areas of his recent work: mathematical models for analyzing imitative behavior, and models for describing status changes in a social group. In his paper, Coleman indicates how and where this work might become useful to present day social science, and takes a few steps in this direction. Marschak carefully examines some alternative views on probability and its application to the social sciences. Simon, in the final paper, expresses his considerations on the fruitful directions for mathematics to take in its application to social science.

STUDIES IN THE SCOPE AND METHOD OF 'THE AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY'

Edited by Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda, \$4.50

This is the second volume in the series, "Continuities in Social Research." This series is devoted to the examination of major research in the social sciences and is actually an examination of the methodology and substantive findings of "The Authoritarian Personality," a major study on the relations of personality, social discrimination and political ideology. The chapters include: *Authoritarianism: "Right" and "Left"* by Edward A. Shils; *A Methodological Critique* by Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley; *Authoritarianism Re-examined* by Richard Christie; *The Selective Effect of Personality on Political Participation* by Harold D. Lasswell; and *Further Explorations* by a Contributor by Else Frenkel-Brunswick.

CONFLICT AND MOOD: FACTORS AFFECTING THE STABILITY OF RESPONSE

By Patricia Kendall, \$3.50

This study considers factors making for unstable responses in attitude questionnaires. It is based on existing panel studies, made available by the Bureau of Applied Social Research, and more systematic experimentation made possible by a grant to the author by the Rockefeller Foundation. The factors uncovered by the author are of importance to all those engaged in actual attitude research and to those charged with the responsibility of analyzing such findings.

Complete Catalogue On Request From The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois

RURAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

*A Textbook in Rural Sociology
and Anthropology*

by CHARLES P. LOOMIS, Head of Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and Director of Social Research Service, Michigan State College; and J. ALLAN BEEGLE, Michigan State College.

- Based on a large amount of original research, this book treats rural social groups from the viewpoint of the student who will later work in or with such groups.
- Unique in the employment of social systems as a unifying frame of reference. Integrates findings from fields of rural sociology, sociometry, applied anthropology, and social theory.
- Rural life is treated in terms of seven clear-cut elements: family and informal groups — locality groups — social strata — religious groups — educational groups — political and occupational groups — and rural service agencies.
- Graphical materials are used throughout the book to facilitate teaching and understanding of materials otherwise found complicated.

873 PAGES—5% "x8%"

PUBLISHED 1950

For approval copies write

PRENTICE-HALL, INC.

70 Fifth Avenue,
New York 11, N. Y.

Charles A. Beard

Edited by

HOWARD K. BEALE

An appraisal of Beard's life and work by twelve outstanding men who knew and admired him.

"Charles A. Beard was one of the foremost scholars of his time," writes George S. Counts in this volume. "He was a master of knowledge and thought in the broad field of the social sciences. Indeed it can be said truly that nothing human was alien to his interests."

\$4.50

Moral and Spiritual Values in Education

By

WILLIAM C. BOWER

An inspiring account of what has been done in Kentucky to develop values in the public schools.

Dr. Bower's book "is replete with ideas and suggestions which no community concerned with improving its program of moral and spiritual values—and what community isn't?—can afford to overlook." —Galen Jones, in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

\$3.50

University of Kentucky Press

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

Just Published

BUILDING A BETTER HOME TOWN

A Program of Community Self-Analysis and Self-Help

By H. CLAY TATE, Editor, Bloomington (Illinois) "Daily Pantagraph"

The heartening account of how an urban newspaper combined with a large mid-western university to pioneer a highly successful project of rural community improvement. At once a persuasive plea for revitalizing small community life and a practical program that can be applied in numerous rural areas throughout the country.

"His book should be read by everyone who has ever had that urge to help make his children's home town a better place than his own."

—ADLAI E. STEVENSON

\$3.50 at your bookstore or from

HARPER & BROTHERS

49 E. 33rd St.

New York 16, N. Y.

PHYLON THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY REVIEW OF RACE & CULTURE

Invites You

to join our expanding group of regular readers of the only publication devoted exclusively to trends and events in racial and cultural frontiers of living.

PHYLON features distinguished writers in:

Topical and timely analyses
Anthropological and scientific papers
Sociological studies

Personality profiles
Short stories and poetry
Reviews of current books

PHYLON rates are as follows:

\$2.00 per year; a two-year subscription or two one-year subscriptions for \$3.50. Foreign subscriptions: \$2.50 a year; single copies, \$1.00. Subscriptions for Sterling areas, including Great Britain, Africa, Asia, Australia, and the West Indies: 15 shillings a year; single copies: three shillings, six pence. Address: Intereps, Ltd., 15, New Row, St. Martin's Lane, London W. C. 2, England.

PHYLON, Atlanta University, Atlanta 3, Georgia

When writing advertisers please mention RURAL SOCIOLOGY

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES

quarterly journal of

Institute of Social and Economic Research,
University College of the West Indies
Jamaica, B. W. I.

Vol. 1, No. 1

Economic development
Productivity and industrialization
Family organization
Urban research

Social structure in 1820

Land tenure and the family

Vol. 1, No. 2

Labour productivity
Seasonal variation and employment

Vol. 2, No. 1

Industrial training methods
Beliefs of the Akawalo

Vol. 1, No. 3

National income estimates
Investment incentives

Vol. 2, Nos. 2 and 3

Social stratification
Motherhood tables

Vol. 1, No. 4

Income and consumption
Currency and banking

Vol. 2, No. 4

Public transport
Labour demand and supply in sugar
Rise of a peasantry

Subscription per Volume (4 numbers) £1.10.0; U.S. \$4.25; B.W.I. \$7.20

Journal of Farm Economics

PUBLISHED BY The American Farm Economic Association

Editor: LAWRENCE W. WITT

Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan

VOLUME XXXVI

MAY, 1954

NUMBER 2

POLITICS OF AGRICULTURAL ADMINISTRATION.....	Charles M. Hardin
SOURCES OF OUR INCREASING FOOD SUPPLY.....	Harold F. Breimyer
RESOURCE RETURNS AND PRODUCTIVITY COEFFICIENTS.....	E. O. Hedy
UNDEREMPLOYMENT OF LABOR IN SOUTHEASTERN AGRICULTURE...	Charles Bishop
COMPARISON OF FARM MANAGEMENT FARMS AND A RANDOM SAMPLE	Allan Mueller
PROBLEMS OF A FARM AND HOME PLANNING PROGRAM.....	Dorris D. Brown
RESOURCE PRODUCTIVITY AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY IN GREECE.....	George Coutsoumaris

Secretary-Treasurer: EARL BUTZ
Department of Agricultural Economics
Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana

When writing advertisers please mention RURAL SOCIOLOGY

A Statement Concerning the

Continuing Need For Certain Back Issues

This year a number of libraries have purchased complete sets of back issues—or as nearly complete as we could supply them. By advertising and letter-writing we have managed to secure quite a few copies of our out-of-print issues, but they are in demand as fast as we get them in. We hope all our members and readers will continue to help us find additional copies of these issues, which are:

Critically Needed

Volume	Number
1	1
7	1, 3, 4
9	2, 3, 4
12	3

(We will pay up to \$1.00 per copy for these—or we will be glad to accept them as a gift to the Society)

Less Critically Needed

Volume	Number
6	1
7	2
12	1, 2, 4
13	2, 4

(We will pay up to \$0.50 per copy for these—or we will be glad to accept them as a gift to the Society)

Keeping the supply of the various issues even is a constant problem, due to fluctuations in the number of subscribers, errors in counting, mishaps, etc. Already our supply of the March 1953 issue is lower than it should be, and much lower than that of the other 1953 issues. In order to build up our supply, we will be glad to buy back as many copies as we can get, at 50 cents per copy. (Or we will be happy to accept them as a gift!)

Needed: March 1953 (Vol. 18, No. 1)

(We will pay up to \$0.50 per copy)

Write or send to

A. Lee Coleman, Managing Editor
Rural Sociology
c/o University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

When writing advertisers please mention RURAL SOCIOLOGY



The Rural Sociological Society

OFFICERS FOR 1934

President, NATHAN A. WISE	University of Wisconsin
Vice-President, MURRAY FARMER	University of Wisconsin
.....
.....
Secretary-Treasurer, BARBARA W. BARRETT	University of Wisconsin
.....
Other Executive Committee Members:	
WILLIAM H. BEWELL	University of Wisconsin
OLAF F. JENSEN	University of Wisconsin
O. D. DUNCAN	University of Wisconsin

STANDING COMMITTEES

Committee on Teaching:	
HAROLD F. KAYMAN	Michigan State College
J. ALLAN BURNS	Michigan State College
LELAND B. TINE	Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Committee on Research:	
ELSA C. MAYO	North Carolina State College
T. WILLIAM LOWMEYER	University of Wisconsin
J. ALLAN BURNS	Michigan State College
Committee on Extension:	
PAUL A. MILLER	Michigan State College
BARBARA J. BARRETT	University of Wisconsin
HAROLD B. SMITH	University of Wisconsin

Official Representative to the American Sociological Society:	
HOWARD W. BARR	University of Kentucky

The object of the Rural Sociological Society is to promote the development of rural sociology through research, teaching, and extension work.

Membership is open to any person professionally employed in the field of rural sociology or who is interested in the Rural Sociological Society, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee. The payment of annual membership fees of \$5.00. The student membership fee is \$2.75 annually. Each member receives Rural Sociology, the official journal of the Society, at no additional expense.

Send membership fees to:

THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
BARBARA W. BARRETT, Secretary-Treasurer
The University of Wisconsin
Broadway 22, 23, 24
New York 27, New York

